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FEBRUARY, 1909

25 CENTS

# THE ARENA

A Twentieth-Century Review of Opinion

B. O. FLOWER: EDITOR MAR 13 1909



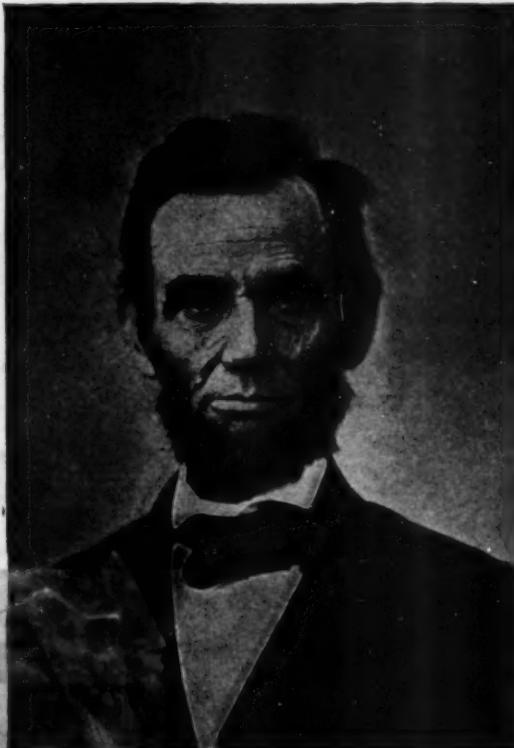
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By Professor Lewis Worthington Smith, Ph.D.

IS MODERN ORGANIZED CHRISTIANITY A  
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A SYMPOSIUM ON RACE SUICIDE

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REV. P. GAVAN DUFFY

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them;  
They master us and force us into the arena,  
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*—HEINE.

# The Arena

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BENJAMIN FAY MILLS.

BY GEORGE WHARTON JAMES.

THIS is an age of searching and fearless criticism of everybody and everything that demands the adoration, the obedience, the homage of man. All our old-time heroes are being put into the camera while the dazzling and piercing rays of the critical searchlight are turned upon them. In religion, especially, is this general statement true. Nothing has been too revered to escape—nothing so sacred that it has been ignored. In the whole realm occupied by Christian civilization there is no book that has been so rigorously subjected to this criticism as has the Bible—the Old Testament of the Hebrew Scriptures, and the New Testament of orthodox Christianity. And this not alone by irreverent disbelievers, open and avowed infidels, who have treated the Bible and its adherents with open scorn and scoffing; not alone by such intellectual and scientific agnostics as Hume, Voltaire, Huxley, Strauss, Renan, Buckle, Tyndall and Ingersoll; not alone by such avowed free thinkers in the bosom of the church itself as Bishop Colenso, Samuel Cox, Dr. Crapsey, Archdeacon Farrar, Professor Ewing, Dr. H. W. Thomas, and the present pastor of

Joseph Parker's City Temple in London; but also by many reverent and pure-hearted believers in the creeds and doctrines of the modern Christian church. The spirit of investigation has permeated everything. Men of the profoundest faith now feel that they have a right—some feel it to be their duty—to know all that can be known of that upon which they deem their eternal salvation depends. The divine inspiration of the Bible, the authenticity of the Scriptures, the textual variations of the various codices, the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary and the miraculous birth of Christ, the doctrines of justification by faith, heaven, hell—everything, in fact, that a few generations ago nearly all men accepted or professed to accept as needful for their eternal welfare, is exposed to this relentless scrutiny.

Naturally there are two extremes in matters of faith, of religious belief: One demands an absolute and infallible church or standard of faith to rely upon, which is provided and offered in the Roman Catholic church; the other demands perfect freedom and individualism. Between these two extremes are all shades and



BENJAMIN FAY MILLS, 1908.

colors of belief, influenced by heredity, early training or temperament, from the extreme High church, which approximates nearly to the Roman church in its beliefs in apostolic succession, the confessional, inspiration, and the sacraments of baptism, confirmation and marriage, through "broad" and "low" churchism, Presbyterianism, Congregationalism, Baptism, Methodism, Episcopalianism, Campbellism (this term is used as a designation, not in an offensive sense), Universalism, Free Methodism, Unitarianism, to the individual "Christian" churches of the free lances who preach Christianity according to their own ideas and without any formal or restraining creed. All those named, save the individualists, have creeds which are held to with a greater or lesser degree of tenacity.

But there is a vast mass of people who are avowedly in a state of mental unrest. They are openly antagonistic to either Roman or Protestant orthodox creeds; Universalism and Unitarianism are

equally unsatisfactory; and but few of them are reached by the free lances. To unite these—amongst whom are people of all faiths and no faiths; Jews, Brahmins, Buddhists, Confucianists, Gentiles of every nationality, believers in the Divinity of Christ, and disbelievers—to unite these in an organization which should be living, powerful, aggressive and helpful, yet elastic and genuinely tolerant, was a mental task before which most men would have fallen back discouraged and appalled.

It was left, however, for Benjamin Fay Mills not only to attempt, but, so far as he has gone, successfully to accomplish the tremendous undertaking of producing a powerful and organic unity out of these heterogeneous and apparently inharmonious and impossible-to-fuse elements.

Before showing how this was done, it will be both interesting and instructive to look briefly at the life-history and work of the man through whose personality it has been achieved. I first knew of Benjamin Fay Mills some twenty or more years ago. He was then a well-known and powerful evangelist in the fold of the orthodox Presbyterian church. He was honored, admired, quoted, imitated, petted and lauded not only by the leaders and membership of his own church, but of all the Protestant churches, designated orthodox, save, perhaps, the exclusive Episcopalians. Up and down the length and breadth of this country he preached, to vast and attentive congregations, with tremendous power, acceptability and results. His audiences were not composed of the merely sentimental and imperfectly educated religionists, but of the most cultured, educated and refined. Business men, of keen, logical intellect, often closed up their banks, stores and marts of commerce for the purpose of attending his meetings in the mornings and afternoons, and in every sense of the word his ministrations were attended with apostolic unction and power in the awakening and conversion of sinners and the quickening into higher and nobler life of believers.

As a natural result, Mr. Mills was treated with a liberality and generosity in money matters that placed him and his family beyond all need of thought about the material things of life. It is a well-known fact that to those who please, delight, hold them, religionists are generous in the extreme, and Benjamin Fay Mills was no exception to this rule. Money flowed easily into his coffers and he was able to educate his family in the best the country afforded. Luxuries were no strangers to him, though both he and Mrs. Mills have always lived and preferred to live the simple and unostentatious life. Yet it cannot be ignored that gifts were showered upon them in abundance and variety. Compliment and adulation were his hourly atmosphere, gratitude and thanks the constant music which rang in his ears. Any lesser man—either of intellect or heart—would have been demoralized by such gifts, adulation and gratitude, but to Mr. Mills these things were merely the froth of life, the effervescence of it. Life itself, while it did not ignore these things, estimated them at their true value, so that when the time came to lose them, they were parted with without so much as a sigh, a single look of regret, or a solitary heart pang.

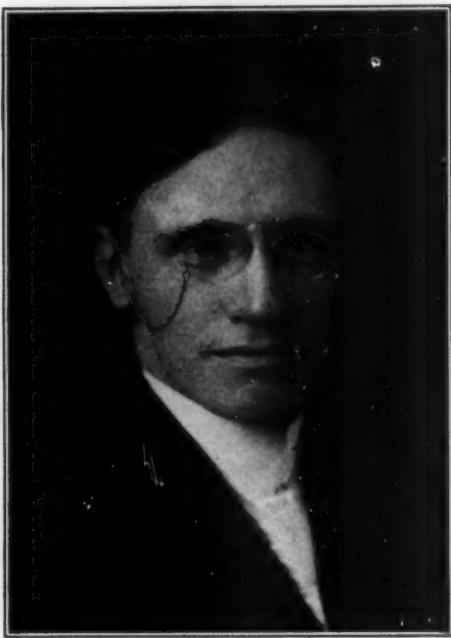
For, in the development of the religious life of others, Mr. Mills was not unmindful of his own intellectual and spiritual needs. He read and studied with a conscientious earnestness that few men have equaled. His heart was large, his sympathies broad, and his associations were with men and women whose ideas were optimistically helpful. He began to glean, therefore, from a variety of men who had been touched by the Divine Fire, and he absorbed impartially from the *Upanishads* and *Ingwersoll*, the *Bhagavad Gita* and *Whitman*, the *Analects of Mencius* and *Emerson*, the tremendous soul-dramas of *Dante* and *Ibsen*, *Milton* and *Omar*. He read voraciously and receptively of all things that had helped other men, and as his heart and brain expanded under the warmth of the powerful light of



MARY RUSSELL MILLS.

other men's minds and souls, he began to see that formalism, creed-worship, church-worship and professionalism in religion were a curse and a hindrance instead of a blessing and a help to mankind. Little by little certain dogmas and beliefs died in his soul and sloughed off, until at length he awoke to the fact that he was no longer in sympathy with his own past teaching, nor with those who were still holding to and teaching it. Yet he was and is essentially a religionist, and equally so is he essentially a teacher. He could no more live without religion and teaching than without air, sun, water and food. Here, then, he found himself face to face with a new and great task. He must find and formulate for himself a religion that should meet alike the needs of his heart and his intellect, and then, he must properly present it to mankind.

It has been during these two stages in his career that I have been privileged to come in closest brotherly contact with Mr. Mills and his remarkable family—a privi-



THORNTON ANTHONY MILLS,  
27 Years.

lege which has been not only a joy, but a sweet and positively spiritual uplift.

Here is the man as he appears to me to-day: Fifty-one years of age, five feet seven inches high, stockily built, of abounding vitality and radiant physical and mental life, with tremendous energy and tireless capacity for work; possessed of the vibrant, resonant, pleasing voice of the natural orator, to whom it is little more work to address ten thousand people than five hundred; with bright, scintillating, keen blue eyes, that ever beam with brotherly kindness, tender sympathy, gentle toleration, and yet discerning penetration; with a hearty cordiality to all and an almost rollicksome buoyancy to his friends; full of fun and humor, yet demanding dignified and serious consideration of important themes by a sincerity and earnestness so manifest that it has seldom, if ever, been questioned; ready to yield gracefully and joyously any mere opinion, yet holding to fundamental principles with a firmness, a persistence, a ten-

acity of insistence that soon drives the insincere, the irreverent, the dishonest away from him; openly and frankly proud of his spiritual and intellectual wife, his accomplished eldest daughter, his manly and strongly individualistic sons, and his two youngest daughters, to whom he carefully and completely outlines his ideas, listening with intent thoughtfulness to their criticisms and suggestions; with a genius for stripping ideas and customs of all conventionalities, complexities and extraneities and presenting them in their pure, attractive simplicity; possessed by a tremendous *urge* that makes itself felt by all with whom he comes in contact; able with serenity to continue on the course he has laid out regardless alike of praise or blame; able with complacency to insist upon the recognition of what he regards as fundamentals, though he sees those who differ from him, even warm personal friends, detach themselves from his organization—this, in part, is Benjamin Fay Mills, as I see and regard him.



HENRY HILL MILLS,  
26 Years.

As a husband and father his relationships (as they seem to one who often has been admitted to the sanctities of his home) are felicitously ideal. Father and children all alike bow to the spiritual discernment of the wife and mother—the queen of one of the most united and happy households ever framed; and no wife was ever more worthy to be regarded as the intellectual helpmate of her husband than is Mrs. Mills. She has aided materially in her husband's work both as philosopher, spiritual seer, teacher, preacher and adviser. By pen and voice, in the pulpit as chief minister of the Los Angeles Fellowship, in the class-room as teacher of Emerson, elucidator of the high ethics of the great teachers of the world's past history, and, above all, by the exercise of her own rarest gifts of poet and prophet, she has inspired the creedless but living and characterful movement. His sons are engaged in active work that is aggressively reformatory in character, his oldest son,



CHARLES HOWARD MILLS,

22 Years



ETHELWYN MILLS,

24 Years.

Thornton Anthony, being pastor of an independent church composed of some of the best elements of the community in Rockford, Illinois; his second son developing remarkable ability as a philosopher and thinker; and his third son having charge of the Children's Playgrounds of Los Angeles, California. His oldest daughter is his secretary and able assistant, competent alike to conduct a class of thoughtful students or address a public meeting. Thus united, they work harmoniously to the same great end, and, as a family, materially increase the potency of their individual influence.

In addition to this personal and family labor, Mr. Mills has associated with himself certain other indefatigable reformers in the publication of a monthly magazine entitled *Fellowship*. His co-editors are Mrs. Mills, Edward Everett Hale, Elbert Hubbard, Reginald J. Campbell, Ben B. Lindsey, Bolton Hall, Elizabeth Towne, J. H. Kellogg, M.D., George Wharton



FAITH MILLS,

17 Years.

James, Ng Poon Chew, Edwin W. Woodcock, William E. Smythe, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Hiram W. Thomas, D.D., N. O. Nelson, Algernon S. Crapsey, Brand Whitlock, Charles Ferguson, Clarence S. Darrow, Charles Zueblin, Sheldon Leavitt, M.D., Henry Frank, Carl D. Thompson, Clara Bewick Colby, Herbert S. Bigelow, Edwin Markham, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise.

Though but a small magazine, *Fellowship* is already a potent force for good in the country and beyond the seas. It is filled with the dynamics of ethical thought, simply expressed, and each month goes forth fresh-charged to stimulate men and women to a simpler, purer, higher and more practical spiritual life. It is about to be enlarged and developed in every way.

The catholicity of Mr. Mills' thought can well be understood from the catholicity of his associations. He was intimately friendly with such noble souls as Ernest Howard Crosby, "Golden Rule"

Jones, Henry Demarest Lloyd, and others of the "advance guard" who have gone on ahead. He fraternizes with Edward Everett Hale, Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Henry Frank, Joaquin Miller, Edwin Markham, Elbert Hubbard, Elizabeth Towne, as well as scores of ministers of all denominations. His mind, his soul, his life, his teachings are essentially democratic. Like Christ, his mission is especially directed to the "common people." He teaches no new doctrine, and no startling truths fall from his lips. His words are simplicity itself, as are the ideas he seeks to impress. And yet he is introducing a new order of things. It is new because of its simplicity, its freedom from tradition, complexity and formalism. He seeks to clarify and simplify religious thought and conception, and demands of his auditors that they put their professions into living, active, personal deeds.

Did it require no moral courage to break away from the old and take up the burden of the new? This man was not only a *reader* but a *student* of the world's history. He knew that the advance guard of any movement for humanity was likely to be stoned and crucified by that very humanity he sought to uplift and bless. Yet did he hesitate or falter? Did he quail or shrink or fear? If so, even his most intimate friends have never known it. Fame, adulation, honor, friendships, luxuries, success—all that most men hold dear, he relentlessly cast aside, and cheerfully and buoyantly took up the tremendous burden of adjusting his life to the new demands of his thought. This, in itself, is a test of the highest mental and spiritual powers of a man—to acknowledge that one's former beliefs and teachings are inadequate to one's present needs, to deliberately, for conscience's sake, sever one's sweet, pleasant and profitable relations with a religious communion or body and go out—as it were—into the cold, followed by the misunderstandings, the heartaches, the regrets, the censures, the wilful perversions and misrepresentations, the ostracisms that invariably accompany such a

course. It is too well known to need formal statement, that the persecution of the narrow religionist is of all persecution the most relentless and vindictive; and, while there are thousands both in the Presbyterian and similar orthodox churches who are too broad-minded and generous-hearted to countenance or justify such a course, it cannot be denied that from the narrow and bigoted class Mr. Mills has been the object of active ostracism, wilful perversion of truth and malign misrepresentation.

From being the flattered and feted, the honored and admired, the petted and imitated, he became the reprobated and shunned, the rejected and despised, the hated and vilified. Purses that had been freely extended or opened, were now withdrawn or closed. The poverty pinch was felt. But Benjamin Fay Mills and his united family had counted the cost—they had foreseen the inevitable, and with sturdy hearts had prepared themselves for it. Like Paul, they despise the cross, glory in their shame and count all things earthly and worldly as nothing when compared with the blessedness of teaching the rich, sweet, pure life of the spirit.

And what is it that Mr. Mills is now teaching? With his clear, logical and organized brain it would be impossible for him long to teach or preach without a clear basis for everything. This he found long ago in the simple declaration upon which all his preaching has hitherto been based since he left the folds of the church. It is embodied in the Fellowship motto, "What is the loving thing to do?"

Now, however, the idea has grown into a formal but elastic declaration of Fellowship principles, and I cannot do better than let Mr. Mills, in this regard, be his own spokesman. He says:

"The Fellowship was born of the Spirit, through the enthusiastic association of several hundred men and women in Los Angeles, as a result of the ministry of Benjamin Fay Mills and Mary Russell Mills, in February, 1905. This original society has become a powerful organiza-



MARY RUSSELL MILLS,

14 Years.

tion, with great and far-reaching activities, and the inspiration of its work has caused the formation of other societies in other cities, and the demand for the extension of the organized movement in many individuals and communities has now become irresistible.

"So far this vigorous movement has manifested practically all the virtues and few of the shortcomings of the present-day religious organizations. It is profoundly religious in the highest sense, but expresses what Marcus Aurelius called 'Religion without superstition.'

"The hour has now come for the organization of The Greater Fellowship.

"By the inner voice in the hearts of the founders, by the enthusiastic and unanimous action of the mother Fellowship of Los Angeles, now entering on the fifth year of prosperity, by the demand from individuals and groups of individuals in various portions of America, and by the great need everywhere for this sane, com-



BENJAMIN FAY MILLS,  
When he began to preach.

prehensive, inspiring, universal form of religion which 'makes all skepticism absurd,' this action has become a joyous necessity.

"The Greater Fellowship will be a temporary form of organization of a broad missionary character, until such time as the state and national and international Fellowships may be widely organized. It will not be long before there are several local societies in several states which will naturally form themselves into state organizations."

The following is the full declaration of the Fellowship Principles, in the preparation and formation of which Mrs. Mills has had fully as large a share as her husband:

"'Forsooth, brothers, fellowship is heaven, and the lack of fellowship is hell; fellowship is life, and the lack of fellowship is death; and the deeds that ye do upon the earth, it is for fellowship's sake that ye do them. . . . Therefore, I bid you not dwell in hell, but in heaven . . . upon earth, which is a part of heaven and forsooth no foul part.'—WILLIAM MORRIS.

"Motto: *What is the Loving Thing to Do?*

- "I. THE SCIENTIFIC BASIS. The Reign of Law, Evolution, the Unity of Substance as standing ground for the cultivation of trust and confidence and unselfishness.
- "II. THE PHILOSOPHY. The One Life. 'There is but One, and that One is everywhere.'
- "III. THE PSYCHOLOGY. The Spiritual or Intelligent Constitution of the Universe coupled with the Infinitude of the Private Man.
- "IV. THE RULE OF LIFE. Absolute Trust as the Fixed Attitude of the Mind and Perfect Love as the Unvarying Practice of the Life.
- "V. THE GOSPEL. The Results.
  - 1. Individual: Knowledge, Wisdom, Character, Serenity, Joy and Power.
  - 2. Social: The Dawn of the New Spiritual Era.
- "VI. THE SOCIAL PROGRAM:
  - 1. Individual Consecration to the general welfare.
  - 2. The Practice of patient and persistent Unselfishness in domestic life.
  - 3. Education as the development of Character, through the appeal to the soul.
  - 4. Social Equality.
  - 5. Loving Ministry to the Unfortunate.
  - 6. The Making and Administering of Civil and Criminal Law on the Fraternal Basis.
  - 7. The Abolition of Institutionalized Immorality, such as the Saloon and all forms of gambling.
  - 8. The Equitable Use of Land and Natural Resources, for the Benefit of All the People.
  - 9. Economic Coöperation.
  - 10. Political Democracy.
  - 11. International Arbitration and Mutual Service. The cultivation of a world-wide peace by peaceful methods.
  - 12. Inter-racial Brotherhood.
  - 13. Universal Sympathy, including the animals.
  - 14. The Expression of Beauty. 'Work without art is drudgery.'
- "VII. THE DYNAMIC. Ye shall receive Power after that this Holy Spirit is come upon you.

#### "ALL WITH

"THE CONSTRUCTIVE  
METHOD.

"Not to destroy, but

"THE FORWARD LOOK.

"We are with to-day as  
against yesterday, and  
with to-morrow as  
against to-day."

Upon this broad platform Mr. and Mrs. Mills have flung themselves out into the ocean of conflicting thought of life, and have become the heralds of a new and happier day to many. They are the first ministers of The Greater Fellowship. Already Fellowships are established in

Los Angeles, San Francisco, Minneapolis, Portland (Oregon), Cincinnati and Milwaukee, and a number of independent, and even liberal orthodox churches throughout the land are considering the question of joining The Greater Fellowship.

It should not be assumed, however, that this "Declaration" is in any sense of the word a Creed, or an authoritative statement that every member of the Fellowship must subscribe to. There is but one condition, and that is that one seeks to live the loving—the love-full—life, and the banding together is for the encouragement of trustful and unselfish living. It is not to seek a heaven of the hereafter, it is not to seek salvation by any theological system, or by giving strict atten-

tion to certain acts called devotions, or religious observances. It leaves its members absolutely free to do as they individually choose in these respects. All it requires and seeks to cultivate is this habit of complete and absolute Trust in the Great All we call God; an actual living in the *knowledge* that "all things work together for good to those who love God"; that it is, indeed, the highest wisdom to "be careful—full of care—for nothing, but in everything by prayer and supplication make our requests known unto God," with the fullest assurance that if we do so, "our hearts and minds shall be kept in the peace of God which passeth all understanding."

GEORGE WHARTON JAMES.

Pasadena, California.

## "THE THIRD DEGREE": A MODERN PLAY ILLUSTRATING THE EDUCATIONAL VALUE OF THE DRAMA.

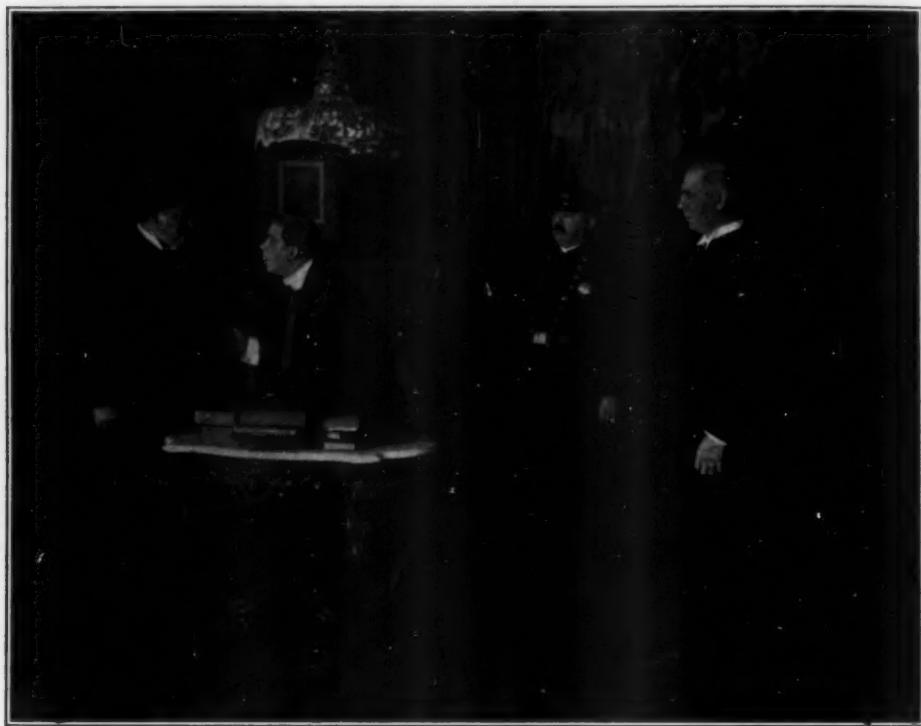
By B. O. FLOWER.

### I.

ON EVERY hand the signs are multiplying which indicate that the night of slothful indifference is passing—the night in which the materialism of the market, cynical pessimism and lust for gain shouldered out of place and power the ideals that made the Republic in her younger days the wonder and glory of civilization. A humanitarian renaissance is at our door. The church is awakening; social and economic writers and leading educators, together with master spirits among our ablest philosophical leaders, are lifting again the torch of idealism and speaking for justice, freedom and fraternity.

But nowhere is this awakening more strikingly apparent than in a department of art and letters where it would be least expected—the drama. Never in the his-

tory of the stage have there been produced in the same length of time so many successful plays that have been instinct with moral idealism or the advancing spirit of altruism which is the soul of the new movement to carry forward and upward civilization, as during the past decade. Among the many serious-minded artists who are doing noble work in the field of dramatic creation, a few names deserve special mention. Last month we noted the significant work of Charles Rann Kennedy in "The Servant in the House." But perhaps the American playwright who is preëminent in this exalted labor of making dramatic art the handmaid of progress is Mr. Charles Klein, and it is a notable fact that the three most successful of Mr. Klein's plays deal with the needs of the hour in relation to the baleful influences to which we have just referred as being so active at the present time.



ACT I.—"THE THIRD DEGREE."

II.

In "The Music Master" Mr. Klein has shown in a most impressive manner the power of optimism and the beauty of self-sacrifice which blooms in richest profusion where moral idealism abounds.

In "The Lion and the Mouse" we have a vivid picture showing how the money-madness that dominates the modern materialistic commercial feudalism of privileged wealth shrivels up the soul of man while polluting the fountains of business and political life, and how the solvent of love—that high, exalted, selfless love that suffers long and is kind—is potentially greater than the iron will of incarnate greed. It is a picture in miniature of the battle between materialistic commercialism and moral idealism; between the lust of power and gold and of self-desire, and the pure love that is the light of the world.

In "The Third Degree" we have a striking picture of the abuses practiced by the machinery of law and order on the one hand, and the sensational press on the other, against the accused—the modern inquisition and the public assassins of character. In the old days, when authority strove to make the accused confess his alleged crimes or his knowledge of the commission of wrong-doing, the brutal minions of power resorted to torture of the physical body, and times without number the wretched innocents, after suffering to the limit of human endurance, confessed to crimes they never committed or dreamed of committing; and the representatives of power triumphantly pointed to the false confessions as justification for their crimes against the accused.

To-day a more subtle but no less iniquitous method of procedure has been coming more and more into vogue with

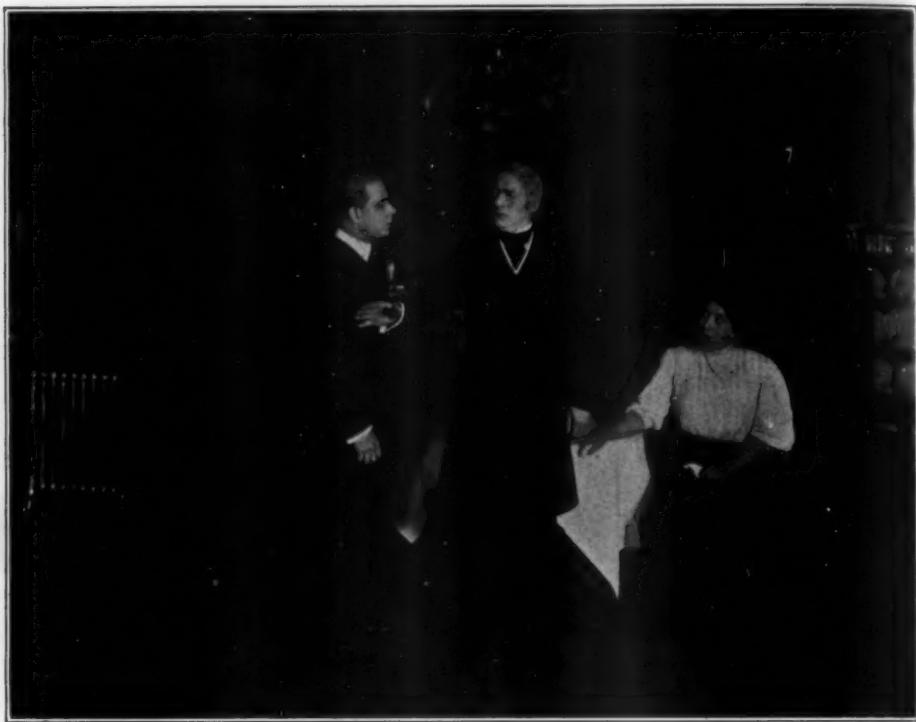


ACT II.—"THE THIRD DEGREE."

the rise of the reactionary materialistic feudalism of privileged wealth. The new method in effect breaks down the mental integrity of the accused, and not unfrequently, when the criminal is confused and mentally exhausted or in a thoroughly negative condition, he becomes the victim of suggestion from minds more positive and determined than his own, so that he confesses to things that may be entirely foreign to the facts involved.

The influence of the law of suggestion is coming to be more and more clearly recognized by thinking people everywhere, and well-authenticated experiments have shed a world of light on many things that hitherto were shrouded in mystery. The inexplicable phenomenon of one accused of crime confessing, when after-disclosures showed that he did not nor could not have committed the offense, is no longer a riddle to the psychologist who under-

stands that the victim was long under the influence of a moral bully who believed him guilty and was determined that he should confess. Such confessions are the result of the breaking down of the mental integrity of the accused, who becomes for the time being the victim of the officer's own suggestions and as irresponsible as were the victims of the Inquisition whose confessions were extorted in the manner above described. This truth is vividly brought out in Mr. Klein's play. Another fact scarcely less prominent and equally important with which the play deals, is the power for evil exerted by a morally irresponsible sensational press that puts the idea of success or a golden harvest for the counting-rooms through advertisements and sales of papers, before all other considerations; a press governed by the money lust no less than are the supposed eminently respectable journals



ACT IV.—"THE THIRD DEGREE."

Lawrence Eddinger, Edmund Bresce and Helen Ware.

which pose as conservative but which are owned and controlled by privileged wealth and edited in the interests of the commercial feudalism. The sensational press derives its revenue largely from the reading public which craves excitement and seizes with avidity upon highly imaginative descriptions of crimes, scandals and lurid pictures of the life or doings of certain members of society, especially those suspected of wrong-doing. In many instances the editors of these papers seem to be morally insane. No regard for the right of the individual or the question of the truth or falsity of the scandal or slander promulgated affects them in the least. They sow broadcast lies that destroy reputations and blast the lives of persons who may be entirely innocent. They are assassins of character; and when a public official, such as a prosecut-

ing officer or police captain with a lust for notoriety assists them, the accused are not unfrequently tried and convicted in the public mind before they have had the opportunity of a hearing in a court of law.

This grave evil is also impressively exposed by Mr. Klein in "The Third Degree."

III.

Before attempting to outline the play, a brief glance at some of the principal characters will help us to intelligently follow the dramatic story here unfolded.

Howard Jeffries, Jr., is the son of an ultra-aristocratic and exclusive New York millionaire whose pride of family name is almost a mania. The young man, on the other hand, has democratic tendencies, and when at Yale he fell in love with a handsome waitress who was somewhat

his senior and happened to be a young woman of great strength of character, though lacking in intellectual education. Howard married the girl instead of ruining her, and for this departure from the too common course among the youths of high society life is disinherited by the elder Jeffries, after the young man has refused to desert his wife. Unfortunately, Howard Jeffries, Jr., like so many young men of to-day in our hot-house college educational institutions, has received no valuable industrial or business training and is therefore almost as helpless as an infant when he fares forth to earn a living wage. After numerous failures he takes to drink.

The elder Jeffries is the least convincing of all the characters of the play. His unrelenting hostility to his daughter-in-law is understandable, but the way in which he long seeks to prevent his own lawyer from defending his boy, whom he believes to be guilty of murder, rather taxes the credulity of even the average uncritical theatergoer. He is represented as a stern, hard, obstinate man who is far more concerned with having society think well of him than with saving his son from the electric chair.

Annie Jeffries, wife of the accused

young man, is the strong character of the drama. Her father had been a pool-room king who because he refused to pay the tribute the police demanded, and which they were accustomed to levy on those who evaded the laws, was arrested



ACT IV.—"THE THIRD DEGREE."

Helen Ware and Lawrence Eddinger.

and railroaded to prison, where he died when Annie was eight years of age. From her ninth year she had earned her own livelihood and maintained her moral integrity.

Mrs. Howard Jeffries, Sr., is a society woman who at one time was engaged to

be married to Robert Underwood, but finding that he was unworthy, she broke the engagement and later married the elder Jeffries, thereby securing a coveted position in the most exclusive and wealthy circles of New York life. She for a time aids Underwood in his business ventures by influencing her friends to secure their art treasures through him. Finding, however, that he is acting dishonestly, she notifies him that she will withhold her favor and that she will no longer recognize him as an acquaintance.

Robert Underwood at the opening of the play is a man at bay, who, facing exposure for dishonesty, and a felon's cell, is meditating suicide.

Richard Brewster is the strong male character of the play. He is a lawyer of the old school, a man of moral idealism and a lover of justice, in spite of years of service in the employment of such men as the elder Jeffries.

Captain Clinton and his aid, Detective Sergeant Maloney, admirably embody the modern reactionary spirit in our police department, since the genius of Russia has encroached on the old ideals of democracy.

Dr. Bernstein represents the present-day scientific physician whose research has led him to realize something of the little understood laws of psychology.

#### IV.

Turning from this brief characterization of the principal actors in the play, we now follow the thread of the drama.

The curtain rises on Robert Underwood in his magnificent Fifth-avenue art studio. He is warned that unless he can make full accounting of property belonging to a leading firm for whom he has been acting as agent, he will be exposed and punished on the following day. But one chance is open to him, and that is aid through his one-time affianced, Mrs. Howard Jeffries, Sr. He has written her a letter threatening to commit suicide if she refuses to see him. Underwood bears all the evidences of a man about to com-

mit some desperate deed. The atmosphere of the play is tense and oppressive to the audience through the suggestion of tragedy conveyed by the subtle realism of the playwright.

The strain is relieved by the entrance of young Howard Jeffries who comes to borrow two thousand dollars from Underwood. The two had been classmates at college, and Jeffries had there accommodated his friend when he was in need. Now Howard is facing starvation with his young wife. He has failed in attempts to earn a living and as a manual laborer. It is quickly discernible that he is under the influence of drink, and almost immediately after entering the studio he addresses himself sedulously to the decanter of whiskey which stands on a large table, while he rambles on describing his condition.

HOWARD—Underwood, I'm an outcast, a pariah, a derelict in the ocean of life, as one of my highly-respectable uncles wrote me—and his grandfather was an iron-puddler. Ha! Does n't it make you sick? I'm no good because I married the girl. If I'd ruined her life, I'd still be a respectable member of the family. [Pours out whiskey.]

UNDERWOOD—No, Howard, you would n't make a respectable member of any family.

HOWARD—P'r'aps not.

UNDERWOOD—How does Annie take her social ostracism?

HOWARD—Like a brick—thoroughbred—all to the good.

UNDERWOOD—I'm sorry I ever introduced you to her. I never thought you'd make such a fool of yourself as to marry

HOWARD—Do n't know whether I made a fool of myself or not. She's got the makings of a great woman; very crude, but still, the makings. The only thing I object to is, she insists on going back to work. Just as if I'd permit such a thing! . . . If you let me have that two thousand—

[Lays back on sofa.]

UNDERWOOD—I have n't got it. I 'm in debt up to my eyes.

[Howard looks around.]

HOWARD—What's all—all this? Bluff?

UNDERWOOD—A bluff, that's it. Not a picture, not a vase, not a stick belongs to me. You 'll have to go to your father.

HOWARD—No! No!

UNDERWOOD—He 'll relent.

HOWARD—Too much brains. Too much up here—too little down here [indicates heart]. Once get an idea, never lets it go—holds on—obstinate.

During an extended conversation young Jeffries continues to drink and finally lapses into a drunken stupor. At this point the bell rings and Mrs. Howard Jeffries, Sr., is announced. Underwood vainly tries to arouse Howard and get him into an adjoining room, but finding it impossible to awaken him, he hastily draws a screen around his couch just before Mrs. Jeffries, Sr., enters.

The lady roundly denounces Underwood for his cowardice and threat, but begs him to promise her he will not commit suicide. He demands her renewed friendship and influence as the price, and she indignantly refuses and leaves, after which the audience from the play of Underwood's countenance and his actions, clearly discerns that he is resolved on death rather than the cell of a criminal. He draws the curtains, puts out the lights, locks the door, enters the adjoining room, and a moment later a pistol shot is heard, and the heavy thud of a body falling on the floor closes the scene.

When the curtain again rises it discloses the same scene. Several hours, however, have elapsed, and the dialogue reveals the fact that the police have been attracted by the shot. They attempted to enter the room, when they discovered Howard Jeffries, Jr., trying to get out. He had awakened, found himself in the dark, and after groping his way to the door was confronted by the minions of the law. The police naturally consider him guilty of the murder and set to work to settle the case

before the accused can have the opportunity to secure aid or set up a defense.

As the curtain rises, Howard Jeffries, Jr., is discovered facing the audience. On one side of him stands the brutal police captain, Clinton; on the other, Detective Sergeant Maloney; while a third officer is farther up the stage. The following dialogue splendidly exposes police abuses that have become rank in New York, Chicago and other American cities in recent years.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—You did it, and you know you did.

HOWARD—No, I—

DETECTIVE—Of course he did.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—These persistent denials are useless. The evidence is here.

HOWARD—I—

[Shakes his head helplessly.]

I 'm so upset. Good God! What 's the use of questioning me and questioning me? I know nothing of this.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—Why did you come here?

HOWARD—I told you. We 're old friends. I came to borrow money. He owed me a few dollars when we were at college together, and I tried to get it. I 've told you so many times. My brain is tired. Please let me go. My wife will be waiting up, and—

CAPTAIN CLINTON—How much did you try to borrow?

HOWARD—A thousand—two thousand—I forget. I think one thousand.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—Did he say he 'd lend you the money?

HOWARD—No, he could n't. He—poor chap, he—

CAPTAIN CLINTON—He refused—that led to words—there was a quarrel, and you shot him.

HOWARD—No! No!

CAPTAIN CLINTON—He was found on the floor, dead, in that room. You were trying to get out of the house without being seen. You pretend you 'd been drinking and—

HOWARD—I was asleep on the sofa. I

just woke up. It was dark, and I went out; I wanted to get home. My wife is waiting up—

DETECTIVE—A likely story!

CAPTAIN CLINTON—The motive is clear. He came for money, was refused; there was a quarrel and he did the trick. Howard Jeffries, you shot Robert Underwood and you shot him with this pistol.

[Holds up pistol. Light shines on it so that it attracts the eye. Howard looks at it. His eyes are riveted on it until his face assumes a vacant stare. Scientifically this accomplishes the act of hypnotism; he comes under the influence of the will directing his will. He is now completely receptive.]

You committed this crime, Howard Jeffries.

[Howard Jeffries gazes at him with a fixed expression.]

DETECTIVE—It's a clear case, Captain.

CAPTAIN—It's as clear as daylight. [Looks at Howard.]

You did it, Jeffries. Come, own up! Let's have the truth. You shot Robert Underwood with this revolver. You did it and you can't deny it. Speak!

HOWARD (As if repeating a lesson)—I did it.

[Detective Maloney signals to take notes. Maloney goes back of Howard.]

DETECTIVE CLINTON—You shot Robert Underwood.

HOWARD (Repeats)—I shot Robert Underwood.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—You quarrelled.

HOWARD—We quarrelled.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—You came here for money.

HOWARD—I came here for money.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—He refused to give it to you?

HOWARD—He refused to give it to me.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—There was a quarrel.

HOWARD—There was a quarrel.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—You followed him into that room.

HOWARD—Followed him into that room

—

CAPTAIN CLINTON—And shot him.

HOWARD—And shot him.

[Enter Dr. Bernstein.]

BERNSTEIN—Well, I—there is n't much smoke. Must have been pretty close range.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—It's all right, Doctor, we've got him to rights. [To Howard.] That's all.

Howard sinks into chair; his head drops as if he were falling asleep. Captain Clinton looks at watch.]

By George, it's taken five hours to get it out of him.

[Detective pulls up blind, showing red glow of sunrise.]

BERNSTEIN—Not at all sure, Captain Clinton, that Underwood did not do this himself.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—Well, I am. This man has just confessed.

BERNSTEIN—Confessed, eh? [Looks closely at Howard; sees that he is asleep.]

CAPTAIN CLINTON—Confessed, in the presence of three witnesses. Eh, Sergeant?

[To officer] You heard him, too, did you, Delaney?

OFFICER—Yes, Captain.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—It took us five hours to get him to own up.

BERNSTEIN—Five hours—yes, that's your method, Captain.

[Looks at Howard, shakes his head.]

I do n't believe in these all-night examinations and third-degree mental-torture processes. When a man is nervous and frightened his brain gets so benumbed at the end of two or three hours' questioning on the same subject, he's liable to say anything or even believe anything. Of course, you know, Captain, that after a certain time the law of suggestion commences to operate and—

CAPTAIN CLINTON [To detective.]—The law of suggestion!

[Laughs.]

You know, Doctor, them theories may make a hit with college students and amateur professors, but they do n't go with

me. You can't make a man say yes when he wants to say no.

BERNSTEIN—You can make him say anything or believe anything or do anything, if he is unable to resist your will.

CAPTAIN CLINTON (Laughs)—Ah! what's the use? We've got him all right. I tell you, Doctor, no newspaper can tell me that my precinct ain't cleaned up. My record is a hundred convictions to one acquittal. I catch 'em with the goods when I go after 'em.

BERNSTEIN—I know your reputation, Captain—

CAPTAIN CLINTON—I'm after results; none of them Psyche themes for mine.

After extorting the confession through hypnotic suggestion, the bully who as captain disgraces the police force, tries to implicate the wife, and even attempts by lying suggestions to get her to admit that she was the woman who called on Underwood. The elevator boy, who refuses to identify her as the night caller, says the name sounded like Jeffries, and with this to work on the police captain and the yellow press construct a fairy story showing how young Howard Jeffries, finding his wife calling on Underwood, was fired by jealousy and shot him. The wife is slandered and traduced in every possible manner, so as to destroy the value of her evidence as a witness and thus strengthen the position of the police in the case.

The elder Jeffries, who comes to the studio when he first hears that his son has been arrested, after learning that the boy has confessed, refuses to do anything whatever toward his defense. In vain the young wife pleads with her father-in-law. He only bitterly denounces her, and ends by washing his hands of the whole affair. Later he forbids Richard Brewster, his attorney, from taking the case. Annie Jeffries is therefore left alone, moneyless and friendless, in her battle to save the life of her husband, while the yellow press, aided by the department of so-called justice, is hounding her like a pack of wolves.

Act II. takes place in the law offices of Richard Brewster. Every day Annie

Jeffries comes to the office of the great lawyer and pleads with him to take her husband's case. She does this largely for the purpose of letting the public believe that Howard's father's lawyer is defending the accused. The elder Jeffries and his wife visit the lawyer, and the former sharply rebukes him for allowing the young woman to come to his office. But Brewster replies that he cannot prevent her coming; all he can do is to respect Mr. Jeffries' wish and refuse to take the case. Mrs. Jeffries remains after her husband departs and arranges with Brewster to have an interview with Annie after the lawyer has seen her. The interview following constitutes one of the strongest scenes in the play. In it the young wife pleads with all the power of a strong character who is ready to make any sacrifice to save the man she loves, and brings to bear every artifice of a naturally resourceful brain. She taunts the lawyer with his moral cowardice and his placing his financial interests above the young man's life. She drives home the fact that the great lawyer is afraid of his rich client.

BREWSTER (Annoyed)—And you think I'm afraid of him?

ANNIE—I'm sure of it. You liked my husband, and you'd just love to rush in and fight for him. His father thinks he is guilty, and—well, you don't like to disobey him. It's very natural. He's an influential man, is a personal friend of the President, and all that. You know on which side your bread is buttered, and—oh! it's very natural—you're looking out for your own interests and—

BREWSTER (Netted)—Circumstances are against Howard. His father judges him guilty from his own confession. It's the conclusion I'm compelled to come to myself. Now, how do you propose to change that conclusion?

BREWSTER—Sit down a moment. I want to ask you a question. How do you account for Howard's confessing to the shooting?

ANNIE—I don't account for it. He

says he did n't confess. I do n't believe he did.

BREWSTER—But three witnesses—  
ANNIE—Yes—policemen!

BREWSTER—That makes no difference. He made a confession and signed—

ANNIE—Against his will. I mean, he did n't know what he was doing at the time. I've had a talk with the physician who was called in—Dr. Bernstein. He says that Captain Clinton is a hypnotist, that he can compel people to say what he wants them to say. Well, Howard, he's what they call a subject—they told him he did it until he believed he did. [Looks at Brewster. He is tapping a table, apparently paying no attention.] Oh, well—

[Rises.]

BREWSTER—Do n't go— [Thoughtfully.] Who told you he was a subject?

ANNIE—Dr. Bernstein—and he told me so himself. A friend of his at college used to make him cut all sorts of capers.

BREWSTER—A friend at college? Do you remember his name?

ANNIE—Howard knows it.

BREWSTER—Um! [Writes on pad.] I'd like to see Dr. Bernstein.

ANNIE—I have his address.

BREWSTER—Write it down there. [She writes.] So you think I'm afraid of Mr. Jeffries, do you?

ANNIE—Oh, no! Not really afraid—just—scared. I did n't mean—

BREWSTER—Oh, yes, you did. And I want you to understand that I'm not afraid of any man. As to allowing my personal interests to interfere with my duty—

ANNIE—Oh! I did n't say that, did I?

BREWSTER—You said I knew on which side my bread was buttered.

ANNIE—Did I?

BREWSTER—You say a great many things, Mrs. Jeffries. Of course, I realize how deeply you feel, and I make excuses for you. But I'm not afraid. Please understand that—afraid—

ANNIE—Of course not. If you were you would n't even see me, let alone talk to me—and—and— [Points to paper.]

BREWSTER—And what?

ANNIE—And—and—take the names and addresses of witnesses for the defense—and—think up how you're going to help Howard—and—and all that.

BREWSTER [Looks at her and laughs]—So you think I'm going to help Howard? [Annie nods.]

You take too much for granted.

ANNIE—You're not afraid to help him. I know that. You just said so.

BREWSTER—And you're quite right. I'm going to take up the case.

Later Mrs. Jeffries, Sr., returns and engages in conversation with Annie.

MRS. JEFFRIES (Anxiously)—The papers say there was a quarrel about you; that you and Mr. Underwood were too—too friendly. They implied that Howard was jealous. Is this true?

ANNIE—It's all talk—scandal—lies—not a word of truth in it. Howard never had a jealous thought of me; and as for me, why, I worshipped the ground he walked on. Did n't he sacrifice everything for me? Did n't he give you and his father up? Did n't he marry me? Did n't he try to educate and make a lady of me? My God! Do you suppose I'd give a man like that cause for jealousy? What do you think I am? What do the papers care? They print things that cut into a woman's heart, without giving it a thought, without knowing or caring whether it's true or not—as long as it interests and amuses their readers. You—you do n't believe I'm the cause of his misfortune, do you?

MRS. JEFFRIES—No, I do n't, Annie. Believe me, I do n't.

Mrs. Jeffries then confesses that she visited Underwood on the night of the murder. She promises to meet her daughter-in-law at Mr. Brewster's house that night and bring the letter she received from Underwood, which led to her visiting the studio. She, however, urged Annie not to disclose who it is who is to make the confession at present. Later Annie promises Brewster that in the evening, at his house, she will produce the woman who visited Underwood on the fatal night.

This brings us to Act III., which occurs in the magnificent drawing-room of the great lawyer. It is in this act that Mr. Klein elaborates the great moral question that gives special ethical significance to the drama. Here the extortion of confessions by means of the modern inquisitorial method known as the "third degree" is not only emphasized, but the way in which the accused is robbed of the opportunity for a fair trial by the department of justice, acting with the sensational press, is most effectively presented.

Mr. Brewster has requested Dr. Bernstein, Captain Clinton and Mr. Howard Jeffries, Sr., to be present, as important revelations are to be made, including conclusive evidence as to who was the mysterious woman who visited Underwood on the night of his death. As the curtain rises Dr. Bernstein is conversing with the lawyer.

**BERNSTEIN**—I am only too happy to do anything in my power to assist you in this matter. I feel exactly as you do. I've read the boy's confession and I give you my professional word, it's absurd and contradictory. It reads like the involuntary elaboration of a suggestion put into his mind. It is a contradictory mixture of improbable and psychologically impossible occurrences.

After the entrance of the elder Jeffries, Captain Clinton and Detective Sergeant Maloney, a spirited interview takes place between Brewster and Clinton. The latter is impatient of any one questioning his methods, and when Brewster informs him that though he does not wish to use the Captain's methods, by spreading throughout the press facts and revelations he has secured which would damage the officer's reputation, he does propose to raise the question of the truth of the confession obtained from young Jeffries.

**CAPTAIN CLINTON**—Are we going over all that? What's the use? A confession is a confession, and that settles it. I suppose the Doctor has been working his pet theory off on you, and it's beginning to sprout.

**BREWSTER**—Yes, it's beginning to sprout, Captain.

**CAPTAIN CLINTON**—Say, Mr. Brewster, you're a great constitutional lawyer—the greatest in this country, and I take off my hat to you; but I do n't think criminal law is in your line.

**BREWSTER**—Well, I do n't think it's constitutional to take a man's mind away from him and substitute your own, Captain Clinton.

**CAPTAIN CLINTON**—What do you mean?

**BREWSTER**—I mean that instead of bringing out of this man his own true thoughts of innocence, you have forced into his consciousness your own false thoughts of his guilt.

Captain Clinton begins to bluster and intimates that he may not answer the questions which the lawyer proposes to ask; whereupon Brewster informs him that if he refuses he will use the Captain's own weapons—the press.

**CAPTAIN CLINTON**—Mr. Brewster, I do n't like the insinuation.

**BREWSTER**—I do n't insinuate, Captain Clinton—I accuse you of giving an untruthful version of this matter to two sensational newspapers in this city, and these two papers have tried this young man in their columns and found him guilty, thus prejudicing the whole community against him before he comes to trial. In no other country in the civilized world would this be tolerated but in a country overburdened with freedom.

**CAPTAIN CLINTON**—The early bird catches the worm. They asked me for information, and got it.

**BREWSTER**—You have so prejudiced the community against him that there is scarcely a man who does n't believe him guilty. If this matter ever comes to trial, how can we pick an unprejudiced jury? And added to this foul injustice, you have branded this young man's wife with every stigma that can be put on womanhood. You have hinted that she is the mysterious female who visited Underwood on that

night of the shooting, and openly suggested that she is the probable cause of the crime.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—Well, it's just as likely.

BREWSTER—You have besmirched her character with stories of scandal. You have linked her name with that of Underwood. The whole country rings with falsities about her—and in my opinion, Captain Clinton, your direct object is to destroy the value of any evidence she may give in her husband's favor.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—Why, I have n't said a word. [Turns to Maloney.] Have I?

BREWSTER—But these sensation-mongers have, and you are the only source from which they could obtain the information.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—But what do I gain?

BREWSTER—Advertisement, promotion. These same papers speak of you as the greatest living chief, the greatest public official. Oh, you know the political value of this sort of thing as well as I do.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—I can't help what they say about me.

BREWSTER—They might add that you are also the richest, but I won't go into that.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—I do n't like all this, Mr. Brewster. "T ain't fair—I ain't on trial" [Looks around at Maloney.]

BREWSTER—No.

[Pause. Busy with papers.]

Captain, in the case of the People against Creedon, after plying him with questions for six hours you obtained a confession from him.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—Yes, he told me he set the place on fire.

BREWSTER—Exactly. But it afterwards developed that he was never near the place—

CAPTAIN CLINTON—Well, he told me

---

BREWSTER—Yes, he told you—but it turned out he was mistaken.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—Yes.

BREWSTER—In the case of the People against Bentley—

CAPTAIN CLINTON—That was Bentley's own fault. I did n't ask him—he owned up himself—you were there, Maloney.

BREWSTER—But you believed him guilty.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—Yes.

BREWSTER—You thought him guilty, and after a five-hour session you impressed this thought on his mind and he confessed.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—I did n't impress anything. I just simply—

BREWSTER—You just simply convinced him that he was guilty, though as it turned out he was in prison at the time he was supposed to have committed the burglary.

CAPTAIN CLINTON (Sullenly)—It was n't burglary.

BREWSTER [Busy with papers.]—You're quite right, Captain—my mistake—it was homicide. But—it was an untrue confession.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—Yes.

BREWSTER—It was the same thing in the Callahan case; in the case of the People against Tuthill, and Cosgrove. Tuthill confessed and died in prison, and Cosgrove afterwards acknowledged that he and not Tuthill was the guilty man.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—Well, mistakes sometimes happen.

BREWSTER—That is precisely the point-of-view we take in this matter. Now, Captain, in the present case, on the night of the confession, did you show young Mr. Jeffries the pistol with which he was supposed to have shot Robert Underwood?

CAPTAIN CLINTON—Yes, I think I did—did n't I, Maloney?

BREWSTER—Your word is sufficient. Did you hold it up?

CAPTAIN CLINTON—I did.

BREWSTER—Do you know if there was a light shining on it?

CAPTAIN CLINTON—Do n't know; there might have been.

BREWSTER [To Dr. Bernstein]—Were there electric-lights on the wall?

BERNSTEIN—Yes.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—What difference does that make?

BREWSTER—Quite a little. The barrel of the revolver was bright, shining steel.

[Captain nods.]

From the moment that Howard Jeffries' eye rested on the shining steel barrel of that revolver, he was no longer a conscious personality. As he himself said to his wife, "They said I did it, and I knew I did n't; but after I looked at that shining pistol I do n't know what I said or did—everything became a blur and a blank." Now, I may tell you, Captain, that this condition fits in every detail the clinical experiences of nerve specialists and the medical experiences of the psychologists. After five hours' constant cross-questioning while in a semi-dazed condition, you impressed on him your own ideas, you suggested to him what he should say, you extracted from him, not the thoughts that were in his own consciousness, but those that were in yours. Is that the scientific fact, Doctor?

BERNSTEIN—Yes, the optical captivation of Howard Jeffries' attention makes the whole case complete and clear to the physician.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—Optical captivation is good! [Laughs. Turns to Maloney.] What do you think of it, Maloney?

MALONEY—[Laughs.] Fine!

CAPTAIN CLINTON—It's a new one, eh?

BREWSTER—It's a very old one, Captain Clinton, but it's new to us. We're barely on the threshold of the discovery. It certainly explains these other cases, does n't it?

CAPTAIN CLINTON—I do n't know that it does—I do n't acknowledge.

BREWSTER—Captain Clinton, whether you acknowledge it or not, I can prove that you obtained these confessions by means of hypnotic suggestion, and that it is a greater crime against society than any that the state punishes or pays you to prevent.

CAPTAIN CLINTON—[Laughs.] I guess the boys up at Albany can deal with that question.

BREWSTER—The boys up at Albany know as little about the laws of psychology as you do. This matter will be dealt with at Washington.

Captain Clinton has announced that he has come prepared to arrest and hold as a state witness the woman Mr. Brewster has promised to produce, who visited Underwood. This declaration is made in the presence of Annie Jeffries, who has arrived in advance of her mother-in-law. The elder Jeffries and Captain Clinton scout the idea that any one but Annie visited Underwood. The elder Jeffries later withdraws, and when Mrs. Jeffries, Sr., is announced, Annie insists on seeing her alone. In the interview which follows the young wife tells her mother-in-law that she will be arrested on leaving the house, and the elder woman becomes almost hysterical, declaring that she cannot face the disgrace. She has, however, given to Annie the letter written by Underwood, and the latter refuses to give it back, in spite of Mrs. Jeffries' pleadings. Annie is greatly moved by the distress of the elder woman and evinces a disposition to freely take the brunt of the revelation if it can be done. She feels that her character has already been ruined by Captain Clinton and the sensational press. After Captain Clinton and Brewster re-enter, the letter which Underwood wrote is handed to the police captain. He sees that it is addressed to Mrs. Jeffries, and immediately concludes that his surmises have been correct and that Annie is the woman in question. The latter, to screen her mother-in-law, does not deny the charge and is taken to the police headquarters. Brewster, seeing that the envelope was addressed to the elder Mrs. Jeffries, attempts to prevent his client from perjuring herself. He arrives at police headquarters, however, too late, as Annie has already made affidavit.

Act IV. transpires one month later. The curtain rises on a little flat occupied by young Jeffries and his wife. The accused has been released, but his health is shattered, and the elder Jeffries has invited him to cross the Atlantic for a

three-months' trip, urging that the change will restore him to health. Dr. Bernstein has been won over and advocates the proposed trip. As the elder Jeffries has not relented in his hostility toward Annie, she suspects that his purpose is to alienate her husband. As a matter of fact, the elder Jeffries has already arranged to have divorce proceedings commenced as soon as Howard is on the ocean, using the confession of Annie as to her visit to Underwood as the basis for charges. The elder Mrs. Jeffries and Brewster, however, at this juncture interpose, and there is a complete reconciliation between the young husband and wife.

Like "The Lion and the Mouse," as a

drama of present-day life "The Third Degree" instantly rivets the attention and holds the interest of the audience from the opening lines. The action is swift, there are many strong dramatic situations, and a constant appeal to the sympathies of the audience. Indeed, the play has practically all the elements which make for popular dramatic success. But for the thoughtful student of life, its great value lies in its uncovering of evil conditions. It is an admirable companion to "The Lion and the Mouse," a play written with a high moral purpose, which cannot fail to make for social righteousness.

B. O. FLOWER.

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## ITALIAN FREEDOM AND THE POETS.

BY PROFESSOR LEWIS WORTHINGTON SMITH, PH.D.

FOR OVER two thousand years Italy has been, in one way or another, a directing and controlling force in the history of the world, a never-ceasing influence in the hearts and minds of men. From her queen city on the Tiber the pale, high-browed Cæsar went forth to conquer, and on her blood-soaked soil Hannibal fought for years in a vain endeavor to check her all-embracing power. Through her awful Alpine passes marched the stern battalions of Napoleon, and on her sacred altar-stones knelt the mighty Charlemagne to receive the imperial crown. Almost since the birth of historic time poets have longed for her, and artists have painted her skies, her mountains, her rivers. No other land under all the blue of heaven is so full of storied memories. She is alike of the past and of the present. Twenty-five hundred years ago her heroes were making history that serves to-day as inspiration for the noblest of us, and only yesterday, as it were, Garibaldi flashed a new patriotism of the old heroic mould,

dauntless, unselfish, death-defying, before the world.

Italy has been almost the world's epitome, holding in herself man's highest virtues, entertaining, if not fostering, his blackest crimes. Over the Alps that stand like grim sentinels to guard her beauty have flowed warlike hosts from every part of Europe; and for all her neighbors she has been at various times a spoil. Even Africa sent the Vandals to sack her cities, while but recently her sons were slaughtered in Abyssinia; and yet she preserves herself, her spirit unconquered.

Long ago in that beautiful Italian city on the Arno, Florence, the love of beauty blossomed into the perfect flower almost as wonderfully as in other days at Athens; and suddenly the world wakened to a new learning, its heart throbbed with new desires and new aspirations, and its thought circled about a new meaning in life. The battle-cursed, sin-debauched, priest-ridden earth suddenly put its

powers and its purposes to a new and a nobler use, and the inspiration had come from Italy.

There are dark things to be told of Italy; the Bridge of Sighs and judicial murders more than one knows of at Venice, the bandit's midnight assault in Calabria, and the sudden and silent leap of the dagger and stiletto everywhere. "*Ich habe geliebt und gelebt*" might well be her sad boast. She has lived and loved, and loved and hated, and she has done both intensely. There is reason, too, for such loving and such hating in something more than her warm skies and the quickly-stirred passions of southern hearts. The Romans, when Italy was Rome, were masters of the world, and the proud eagles of Rome spoke to the German on the Rhine, to the Persian in Syria, and to the wild Numidian horsemen of Upper Africa of the imperial might and majesty of the wonderful city.

Let it be said again that there has been more than the warmth of southern skies to account for her loves and her hates. She has been robbed by Goth and Vandal; she has been trodden under foot by Frank and German, and she has felt the bitterness of a supremacy that there was no one to acknowledge. What more could be needed to make every hate an avenging one, a thing to be dreamed of and died for, even to be loved and cherished.

In the year of Christ's nativity the greatest of Roman emperors, Augustus, saw Italy the mistress of the world at the very summit of her power. All the earth sent tribute to her, and in her pantheon all the gods of the visible world were worshiped, save one. Five hundred years later the long line of Roman emperors had gone out in dishonor. Constantine had taken the capital of the Roman world to the shores of the Bosphorus, and there was left her now only an ecclesiastical headship, as yet but nominal and barely flushed with promise. Three hundred years more and the great Charlemagne had come and pressed upon his barbarian

brows the iron crown of the Lombards. Less than four hundred years later Rienzi, sending through the imperial city the cry that men should be free and men once more, had roused his countrymen to an outburst of popular enthusiasm and then fallen a victim to his own desire for the people's good. At about the same time Petrarch and Boccaccio and Dante gave Italy a new and glorious literature, while at Florence the grim monk Savonarola preached the destruction of hypocrisy and all unrighteousness. After another four hundred years another French conqueror came with desecrating foot to send her art treasures home to his capital, to feed his soldiers upon the spoil of her children, to drench her blood-stained soil anew with the life-tide of strangers fighting for a cause not hers. Such in brief is the history of Italy until we come to the new Italy of our day; first the world's master and then for a thousand years, not a nation, but a mass of warring states and cities, each jealous of the other, and each in turn the victim of foreign tyranny. She fell from her place of power when Europe was convulsed with the great migrations, and again shame drooped over her eyes when Napoleon's armies made her fields a desolation.

The end of the Napoleonic struggle was, however, the darkness before the dawn. When the great master-spirit of modern Europe was at last safely imprisoned at St. Helena, Italy was a divided country. In the south there was the kingdom of the two Sicilies with its capital at Naples. The territory north of that was ruled from Rome by the Pope. North of that still there was the duchy of Tuscany, while to the northeast Venetia and Lombardy were held under the iron heel of Austria as far as the Po. To the northwest, Piedmont and Sardinia owed allegiance to the house of Savoy. This was in 1815, and then it was that Austria, Russia and Prussia bound themselves together by the terms of the Holy Alliance. The adjective is theirs, for it was called the Holy Alliance merely that the world

might not know its unholy purposes. Ostensibly they were to govern their actions as states by the precepts of the gospel, but as part of those precepts they included the doctrine of the divine right of kings.

Never, perhaps, since the foundation of the world had there been such a ferment in the minds of men. In the wake of the French Revolution there had come the growth of revolutionary principles throughout Europe, and everywhere rulers not of the people's choice saw before them the day of doom. Liberty, freedom, equality were words that meant something now, and in every corner of Europe there was in waiting souls the hope that they might mean more.

As yet, however, the destinies of the world were in the hands of her old masters, and they knew the thing that threatened too well not to make preparations for the coming storm. They bound themselves together by a Holy Alliance so that, wherever the new revolutionary spirit had a hope for man, they might the better crush it. They pledged themselves to govern their territories in accordance with the precepts of the gospel, and forgot, or did not care to know, that those precepts are merely the law of love and the doctrine of the common brotherhood of man.

Into the policy of European states there entered now a new principle in seeming, but it was new in appearance only. The principle of non-intervention, the declaration that one state should not concern itself with the internal affairs of another, formed a large part of the talk in diplomatic and court circles throughout Europe; but every government was ready to plunder its neighbor, should a fitting opportunity appear. At the head of the forces working for the continued enslavement of man was Prince Metternich, who for long years under the Emperor Francis directed the policy of Austria. In one of his despatches he wrote: "The Emperor will never admit the principle of non-intervention in the face of the persistent

activity of the revolutionary propaganda. His Imperial Majesty recognizes it not only as his right, but also his duty, to lend every lawful authority attacked by the common enemy every kind of assistance which circumstances may permit him to employ." Under cover of such a declaration as this, Austria sent her troops to maintain a tyrant on the throne of Naples. In accordance with the needs of despotism, she let it be known that her soldiers were ready to fight the battles of constituted authority, right or wrong, almost everywhere. For her nearest neighbor she had Italy, divided and subdivided, ruled by the cruel hands of masters pitiless in their littleness, misruled by hosts of lesser masters, or not ruled at all; left, rather, to open violence and despair. Indeed, Italy was not Austria's neighbor merely, she was actually become Austria in part, and at the head of the blue Adriatic, Austria had her garrisons, while the proud land of Cæsar and Cicero and Vergil bowed once more with the shame of a slave.

The picture of Italy so dismembered, so abject, so debased, is full of the irony of fate. Even the gladiators who of old fought for the pleasure of Rome's haughty senators might well have wept at the sight of their conqueror so low.

So sunken, fallen so low, Italy still had patriots. There are patriots in every land when the need of patriotism makes it both a duty and a danger. There were, however, not so many patriots as there should have been, because to be known as an active patriot was to be exiled or executed, and many chose exile. It was not the first time that men had not been permitted to live in their country for loving her too well.

In 1834 Mazzini founded the society of "Young Italy," and, having tried to induce Charles Albert, the King of Sardinia and Piedmont, to ally himself with its movement for the unification of Italy, had been rebuffed and was now trying to stir up insurrection against the Piedmont king wherever possible. In one of these

attempts, the ill-fated affair of St. Julien, Garibaldi was interested, and after the miserable outcome he found his name in the list of those condemned to death. Garibaldi had grown to manhood with the thought of Italy's old-time grandeur ever before him. In him almost without teaching had developed the belief that man must be free, and to this conviction there added the impulses of a nature warm and generous to excess. He had already been made a Carbonaro by a sailor on the shore of the Black Sea, and his life was pledged to Italy. Italy, however, could no longer be his home.

Never was there a life more full of stirring incident and romantic adventure than that of Garibaldi. Never was there a heart less mindful of self, readier to give up time, money, life for the good of others. Now, since the hope for Italy was vain, he shifted as a sailor for Rio Janeiro. Here he joined in a revolutionary enterprise against the Emperor of Brazil. Once he was shot in the neck and left to recover in prison. Again he was hung up for two hours by ropes tied around his wrists, and was finally taken down only because it was clear that he could not be induced to betray his associates. Escaping again, he fought on and on, by sea and land, rejoicing in battle wherever it seemed to be for the rights of man and against the power of rulers. It was in this warfare in South America, when the tide of battle seemed to be rising against him, that he met his wife. One day he saw Anita washing clothes by the river side, and his heart knew its mate at once. She was dark—possessed of singular grace and perfect physique; and her heart was as high and daring as his own. She loved war and bravery as he loved it, and in a sea fight taking place soon after their marriage she pointed the first gun. There was, indeed, an unfortunate circumstance in their relations in that she had a husband already, but by every law of nature they were meant for each other, and so they sailed away on their honeymoon of war. "It is a pity," said Garibaldi,

"that two such hearts so united as ours should be the cause of sorrow to some poor, innocent man."

While Garibaldi was away in South America things were shaping themselves for something more decisive in Italy. The secret society of the Carbonari, pretending to trace its origin to a remote date, had spread itself all over the land. One by one patriots had suffered death or been driven into exile. Mazzini was in London, no longer able to find a home in France near the land he loved. A decree of the Austrian government had declared that any one knowing of the existence of a lodge of the Carbonari or of an individual member of such a lodge without reporting it could be punished by imprisonment. One case of the punishment meted out to those who dared hope for a reunited Italy may suffice for all. Count Confalonierri was of noble birth, an aristocrat of the finest type, a leader in Lombardy. In 1821 he had founded an organization whose members took this oath: "I swear to God, and on my honor, to exert myself to the utmost of my power, and even at the sacrifice of my life, to redeem Italy from foreign dominion." Though warned to flee from Italy by a friendly Austrian official, he could not bring himself to leave his country, and he was put under arrest by the Austrian government. He was tried and condemned to death simply for being a patriot. The Countess Confalonierri hurried to Vienna to intercede with the Emperor for her husband. He seemed immovable, and she hurried back to Milan to have a last interview with the Count before he should be executed. The Empress, however, moved by the entreaties and despair of Teresa Confalonierri, had made unceasing efforts to incline the Emperor to clemency, and at last her prayers prevailed. Confalonierri was to be spared, but the sentence of death against him was to be commuted to one of life imprisonment.

Spielburg was the Austrian prison for political offenders, the prison of Silvio Pellico, and its horrors were such as would

disgrace a nation sunk as low in the scale of civilization as the Turkey of our day. Maroncelli, one of the first Italian prisoners confined there, contracted a disease of the leg from his sufferings, and a surgical operation became necessary; but this could not be performed until consent had been obtained from Vienna. The unfortunate political prisoner confined at Spielberg had to suffer continually from hunger and the diseases that follow in its wake. At Vienna, on his way to Spielberg, Confalonieri was treated as a guest of honor. He was given luxurious apartments where servants waited upon him and sumptuous repasts were set before him. It was not clear to him why he should be so used until one evening Prince Metternich came to see him. Then for three hours he was compelled to endure every persuasion and seduction that Metternich could offer to get him to reveal the secrets that were supposed to be reposed with him. "Confalonieri need never go to Spielberg," said Prince Metternich to him. "Let him think of his family, of his adored wife, of his own talents, of his own career, on the brink of being blotted out as completely as if he were dead."

The Italian patriots of those stern days were not men to betray their fellows, and Confalonieri was immovable. He went with high-hearted courage to the living grave made for those who had hopes for Italian freedom and had tried to make those hopes more than a dream.

A little after this an attempted uprising had failed in Naples, and those who were seriously implicated in it were to be shot. A woman went to the King to plead for the lives of her two grandsons, Diego and Emilio. The King told her that he would spare whichever one of the two she should choose. She begged to have the choice left to chance or some one else, but he insisted that she must choose or both of them would be shot. She chose Diego, and afterward went mad, crying in her ravings: "I have killed Emilio; I have killed Emilio!"

France made declaration of the prin-

ple of non-intervention not long after this, and asserted that she would see that it was carried out. The hearts of Italian patriots everywhere were stirred with a new hope, for if France should insist rigorously upon the fulfilment of that intention, it would be a death-blow to Austrian supremacy in Italy. Neither King Francis at Naples nor any other tyrant of the Peninsula could thereafter enforce brutality by the force of Austrian arms. The exiles were the first to be fired by the new hope, and an exulting cry of gladness was borne from them to the listening ears of their fellow-patriots in Italy. Gabriel Rossetti, exiled in London, sent home an ode of rejoicing summons, writing by the cradle of that son who should grow to manhood and find Italy still the "weeping, desolate mother." What wonder that the boy wrote afterward, when he became one of England's honored poets:

"Another later thing comes back to me.  
"T was in those hardest, foulest days of all,  
When still from his shut palace, sitting clean  
Above the splash of blood, old Metternich,  
(May his soul die, and never-dying worms  
Feast on its pain forever;) used to thin  
His year's doomed hundreds daintily, each month  
Thirties and fifties. This time, as I think,  
"T was when his thirst forbade the poor to take  
That evil, brackish salt which the dry rocks  
Keep all through winter when the sea draws in."

What man with the blood of Italy coursing through his veins, even though as the younger Rossetti he had never lived in that fair land of story, what man filled with the sense of brotherhood to a people so trodden under foot as the Italians, could fail to feel within him the fire of a new purpose, the burning of a new shame, the resolve of a new avenging fury to sweep the earth of its wrongs at whatever cost? What wonder that every Italian hates Metternich, remembering,

"Those hardest, foulest days of all"?

The poets have always been in advance of their fellows in their outreaching sympathy for men, their forward vision into the golden promise of the world's future, their hope for a larger life for humanity. They have sung always the songs of free

peoples and of those who strike the blow for freedom, and they have refused in every age to glorify the tyrant and his cause. Browning in his "Lost Leader" tells of a brother poet who fails in his loyalty to the cause of man, one for whom the temptations offered by the earth's mighty ones have proved too much.

"Just for a handful of silver he left us,  
Just for a ribbon to stick in his coat—  
Found the one gift of which fortune bereft us,  
Lost all the others she lets us devote;

"Shakespeare was of us, Milton was for us,  
Burns, Shelley, were with us—they watch from  
their graves:  
He alone breaks from the van and the freemen.  
He alone sinks to the rear and the slaves."

This recreant, be it said, is only one out of many, and Burns and Shelley are not alone in watching from their graves. Every high and pure-voiced son of song has his eyes bent upon the growing hope of man, and upon no chapter of earth's struggle for a purer law and a surer justice have the glowing eyes of the poets been turned more earnestly than upon this one chapter of the struggle for Italian freedom. It is the animating spirit of Shelley's "Ode to Naples," and to an Italian patriot it was chiefly due that Byron put a spark of nobleness into the last hours of a ruined life and, devoting it to the cause of Greek freedom, died better than he had lived at Missolonghi. It was not his fate, however, to live quite up to the time of the real struggle in Italy. His "Ode on Venice" glows with no noble enthusiasm for a nation welded into one body by the fires of patriotism. It rather looks back to the old glory, and by its light is made to feel the bitter helplessness of the present.

"Glory and Empire! Once upon these towers  
With Freedom—godlike Triad! how ye sate!  
The league of mightiest nations, in those hours  
When Venice was an envy, might abate,  
But did not quench her spirit—in her fate  
All were enwrapped: the feasted monarchs knew  
And loved their hostess, nor could learn to hate,  
Although they humbled—with the kingly few  
The many felt, far from all days and climes  
She was the voyager's worship!—even her crimes  
Were of the softer order—born of love."

Wordsworth, having nearly reached his three-score years and ten, found a new theme for his verse in the misery of Italy and in her regenerate nobleness.

"Fair land, thee all men greet with joy, how few  
Whose souls take pride in freedom, virtue, fame,  
Part from thee without pity dyed in shame."

Such were his feelings for her in 1837, and again at a little later date, when another attempted uprising at Bologna had failed, as so many before had failed, he wrote:

"Ah, why deceive ourselves! By no mere fit  
Of sudden passion roused shall man attain  
True freedom where for ages they have lain  
Bound in a dark, abominable pit,  
With life's best sinews more and more unknot.  
Here, there, a banded few who loathe the chain  
May rise to break it; effort worse than vain.  
For thee, O great Italian nation, split  
Into these jarring factions—let thy scope  
Be one fixed mind for all; thy rights approve  
To thine own conscience gradually renewed:  
Learn to make Time the father of wise Hope;  
Then trust thy cause to the arm of Fortitude,  
The light of Knowledge and the warmth of Love."

But of all the poets who have written of Italy none other has written of her so lovingly, so sympathetically, with so warm a glow of enthusiasm as Mrs. Browning. In the highest sense she is not a great poet. Her poetry lacks somewhere that strength and breadth of vision that we demand of the masters, but it has all of a woman's subtle insight and fine feeling. Nowhere is this shown with more power and perfectness than in that long list of poems in which she pours forth her passion for the cause of Italy. If she were known only by these poems, it might well be fancied that she was an Italian woman, for the Italian women were patriots no less than Italian men. There is the story told of the young wife of Captain Silvestro Castiglioni of Modena. "Giulio, do your duty as a citizen," she said when he left her to join in an insurrection. "Do not betray it for me, as perhaps it would make me love you less." The insurrection failed and he was taken prisoner, but she shared his imprisonment with him. Finally he was set free, but it was too late to free her. She died from the hardships endured.

Such patriotism and nobleness as this is the theme of Mrs. Browning's poem, "Parting Lovers." It is a story that has been told in other lands perhaps, doubtless very, very often; but no other land than Italy could have shown such an intensity of womanly devotion.

"I love thee, love thee, Giulio;  
Some call me cold, and some demure;  
And if thou hast ever guessed that so  
I loved thee—well, the proof was poor,  
And no one could be sure.

"But now that Italy invokes  
Her young men to go forth and chase  
The foe or perish—nothing chokes  
My voice, or drives me from the place.  
I look thee in the face.

"I love thee; it is understood,  
Confest; I do not shrink or start.  
No blushes: all my body's blood  
Has gone to greateren this poor heart  
That loving, we may part.

"Our Italy invokes the youth  
To die, if need be. Still, there's room,  
Though earth is strained with dead in truth;  
Since twice the lilies were in bloom  
They have not grudged a tomb.

"Dear God! when Italy is one,  
Complete, content from bound to bound,  
Suppose for my share earth's undone  
By one grave in 't!—as one small wound  
Will kill a man, 't is found.

"What then? If love's delight must end,  
At least we'll clear its truth from flaws.  
I love thee, love thee, sweetest friend:  
Now take my sweetest without pause,  
And help the nation's cause.

"And thus of noble Italy  
We'll both be worthy: let her show  
The future how we made her free,  
Not sparing life . . . nor Giulio,  
Nor this—this heartbreak! Go."

It was long years that Italy wept and was desolate, but in the closing week of April, 1859, events began to move on more swiftly. Count Cavour had secured the alliance of the Emperor of the French, Louis Napoleon, and had then forced Austria to declare war. That was a great day for Italy when once more a great French army came down to her sunny plains from the Alps, not now to conquer her, but to help her and give her to herself, as Napoleon said. Garibaldi was back from South America. Italian armies

sprang into being on Italian soil. He had only 3,500 men and the title of Major-General, but he was everywhere at once. Ten thousand men were sent against him, but the hero of the red shirt scattered them with his little band.

While he was doing this, the main army of the French and Piedmontese was going on from victory to victory. They drove the Austrians back from Palestro; they forced them to withdraw from the field of Magenta; and at last conquered them magnificently in the decisive battle of Solferino.

The battle of Solferino has a romantic place in history. The scene of the engagement was a beautiful one, the mountains on the one side rising tier on tier in the distance, and on the other the vine-clad hills touched with the beauty of an Italian summer and flushed with the warmth of an Italian sky. Beyond them rolled the blue waves of the Lake of Garda, and away to the south Italy waited with hushed breath for the outcome. A legend of the time tells that in the early morning before daybreak, as the French cavalry advanced to the attack at Solferino, they saw a huge and gaunt hussar by the roadside. The figure went from sight for a moment and then reappeared in front of them, dealing the officer heading the party of Frenchmen a tremendous blow. As he fell from his horse, the daring Austrian vanished in the darkness, while the volley of the French troopers that followed him rang through the dawn stillness with the first sounds of battle. All day long the conflict raged. Up the rugged Solferino heights the French soldiers made their way with a bravery such as the old Imperial guard had shown nearly half a century before at Waterloo. The streets of Solferino were piled with their dead, and once it even seemed that all that life-blood might have been poured out in vain. When the battle was well-nigh won, a terrific storm, driving great clouds of dust before it, came down upon the shattered host of the Austrians and sent them rolling back in defeat.

Then came the peace of Villa Franca and the treaty of Zürich, by which Sardinia lost Nice and Savoy and gained considerable territory in Central Italy. It was a long step toward Italian unity, but there was much yet to be done. In 1860, Garibaldi advanced on Sicily with a thousand followers, and after succeeding there crossed over and took possession of Naples. Then, when he had carried the enterprise through safely, King Victor Emanuel took up his cause, and now so much territory was added to his crown that Garibaldi greeted him King of Italy. The old hero himself went back to his rocky island of Caprera, a poorer man than before, and yet unwilling to accept the honors and rewards offered him. This was the period of Ancona and Gaeta, made memorable forever by Mrs. Browning's beautifully touching "Mother and Poet."

"Dead! One of them shot by the sea in the east,  
And one of them shot in the west by the sea.  
Dead! Both my boys! When you sit at the feast,  
And are wanting a great song for Italy free,  
Let none look at me.

"To teach them—It stings there: I made them,  
indeed,  
Speak plain the word country. I taught them,  
no doubt,  
That a country 's a thing men should die for at need  
I prated of liberty, rights, and about  
The tyrant cast out.

"And when their eyes flashed . . . O my beautiful  
eyes!  
I exulted; nay, let them go forth at the wheels  
Of the guns, and denied not. But then the surprise  
When one sits quite alone. Then one weeps,  
then one kneels.  
God, how the house feels!

"Then was triumph at Turin: 'Ancona was free':  
And some one came out of the cheers in the street,  
With a face pale as stone to say something to me.  
I fell down at his feet,  
While they cheered in the street.

"When Venice and Rome keep their new jubilee;  
When your flag takes all heaven for its white,  
green and red;  
When you have your country from mountain to sea;  
When King Victor has Italy's crown on his head,  
(And I have my dead)—

"What then? Do not mock me. Ah, ring your  
bells low,  
And burn your lights faintly! *My country is  
there*

Above the star pricked by the last peak of snow:  
My Italy 's *there*, with my brave civic pair  
To enfranchise despair!"

At last Italy was an Italy to which the exiles might gladly go back again, and Robert Browning's "Italian in England" might satisfy his longings, except that now it would be too late to,

"Grasp Metternich until  
I felt his red, wet throat distil  
In blood through these two hands."

It is in this fashion that the exile begins his story:

"That second time they hunted me  
From hill to plain, from shore to sea,  
And Austria bounding far and wide  
Her bloodhounds through the country side,  
Breathed hot and instant on my trace—  
I made six days a hiding-place  
Of that dry green old aqueduct,  
Where Charles and I, when boys, have plucked  
The fireflies from the roof above,  
Bright-creeping through the moss they love."

When the story is told he muses:

"How very long since I have thought  
Concerning—much less wished for—aught  
Beside the good of Italy,  
For which I live and mean to die!"

It cannot all be quoted, and only the poem itself, written as it is at Browning's best, can make one feel the loneliness of those whose hearts were not in the land of their enforced adoption, but far away in Italy,

"In that dear lost land  
Over the sea the thousand miles."

There were but two more episodes in the unification of Italy, the war for Venice and the war for Rome. Strangely enough the Emperor Napoleon took Venice out of the hands of the stranger, and naturally enough Garibaldi led in the attack on Rome. He had always been an enemy of ecclesiasticism, and no one could be more ready than he to establish even royal power in the place of the papal hierarchy. Garibaldi, the hero of the red shirt, must always be the popular idol; but with his name the historian must couple those of Cavour and Mazzini. Of the latter Swinburne could say in his lines "On the Monument Erected to Mazzini at Genoa":

"Italia, mother of the sons of men,  
Mother divine,  
Of all that served thee best with sword or pen,  
All sons of thine,

"Thou knowest that the likeness of the best  
Before thee stands;  
The head most high, the heart found faithullest,  
The purest hands.

"Glory be his forever, while this land  
Lives and is free,  
As with controlling breath and sovereign hand  
He bade her be.

"Earth shows to heaven the names by thousands told  
That crown her fame;  
But highest of all that earth and heaven behold,  
Mazzini's name."

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LEWIS WORTHINGTON SMITH.

## RAILWAY NATIONALIZATION NOT CONFISCATORY.

BY CARL S. VROOMAN.

CONTRARY to the prevailing opinion, the nationalization of our railroads would work no hardship to owners of railroad stocks and bonds. All talk about confiscation of railroad properties, whether it be indulged in by anarchistic fanatics, or by frenzied financiers, is both hysterical and absurd. So far as I have been able to discover, there never has been a case on record in any part of the world where a government on purchasing a railroad from private individuals or from a corporation has paid less for it than it was worth. On the contrary, a number of instances are on record where the governments have given not only more than the roads purchased were worth, but more than they legally were required to give.

It may be just as well to state at once that, from the standpoint of the public, the weakest spot in state railroad financing has always been found to be in connection with the original purchase of railroads by the government. In practically every instance, government officials have taken exaggerated pains not to allow themselves to override the just claims of the railroads by any arbitrary exercise of the political powers of the state. Sometimes from the highest motives, and sometimes from less commendable ones, governments often have been found to err on

the other side, by giving the companies the advantage of every doubt. An example of this sort of excessive governmental generosity is to be found in the action of the French government in 1848, in connection with the line from Paris to Lyons. In 1847, in order to help the road out of its financial difficulties, the state gave it a new and more favorable charter, together with substantial financial support, and when, in 1848, there was a recurrence of the trouble, the government took over the road, of which the price of stock had fallen from \$50 to only \$7 a share, and magnificently reimbursed the stockholders for all losses, in gilt-edge government bonds.\* That this is by no means an isolated example of this sort of thing in France, is shown by the strikingly similar arrangement made in 1878, when a number of little bankrupt and unfinished lines were bought up by the government at the original cost of construction† and made into the present "state line."

One of the worst recent instances of this form of paternalism gone to seed, is the case of the purchase of the "Grand Central" railroad by the Belgium government in 1897. While the most important and valuable part of this system was pur-

\**Les Chemins de Fer Français*, Gripon La Motte p. 116.

†*Ibid.*, p. 285.

chasable in accordance with the provisions of its charters, certain other comparatively unimportant local lines, having no such provisions in their charters, could only be bought by means of a business agreement.

If the state had stood firmly on its legal prerogatives, and had insisted upon buying the trunk lines of the system according to the provisions in their charters, the company, as every one admitted, would have been forced to sell, for any reasonable price offered, the little branch and local lines, which could not have been run advantageously alone.

The state, while thus it was completely master of the situation, feebly hesitated, quibbled, and finally declared that it did not consider that it would be fair for it to assert its legal rights and take the road at the fair, and even generous, price provided by the provisions of its charter. As a result of this worse than supine attitude of the government, the officials of the road demanded that the entire system be bought on a purely commercial basis, wholly without reference to the purchase provisions of the charters. This the government finally agreed to do, and a purely *commercial* and most unstatesmanlike understanding was arrived at, which allowed the company an exorbitant price for its property.

Among other things, the state capitalized two-thirds of the intercalary interest on the road's current banking surpluses, as well as two-thirds of the premiums in the form of a percentage of its profits, which was allowed the directors as a part of their salary and which, thus, unquestionably was a part—not of the profits of the road—but of its operating expenses. These are only two of the many ways in which the road was permitted to pad its profits account. Moreover, the road made an artificial and exaggerated financial showing, by seeing to it that no money whatever was spent on the installation of life-saving devices, repairs, maintenance of way, or in keeping the rolling stock up to date, except as such expenditures

were imperatively demanded from day to day. The "stitch in time that saves nine" was carefully omitted, and the saving thus made was added to the profits account and later capitalized. But that was not the worst of it. For every dollar gained by the roads from this criminal economy and penuriousness, the state lost tenfold when later, it had to go to an enormous expense for the purpose of putting the road once more in good condition. Moreover, the hours of labor on this road were very long, and the wages of employés were kept down to the starvation point, so that Mr. Vandervelde, the eloquent and scholarly leader of the Belgian Socialist party, was able, in his speech in the Chamber, June 18, 1887, to say truthfully that "the government was capitalizing as profits of the road, money which they had extorted from its underpaid workmen."

#### A COMPLICATED AND DIFFICULT PROBLEM.

The purchase of a railroad by a government is an extremely complicated and difficult affair at best—in fact, it is the most difficult step involved in the inauguration and management of a *régime* of governmental railroads. Moreover, since it is the first step, the one which has to be taken before government officials have had any experience with the management of state railroads, it is of the greatest possible importance that it be preceded by a period of preliminary training in connection with a system of vigorous government regulation, as well as by a campaign of premeditated and carefully planned out preparation for the future purchase and management of the roads by the state. The government officials who are called upon to conduct such a purchase have a double responsibility, that toward the stockholders, and that toward the general public. They are expected to find the happy medium between forcing the road to sell too cheaply and of being forced by it to pay an unreasonably high price. The capital involved is so vast that any slightest alteration, one way or the other,

of the method of determining the value of the roads, involve so many millions of dollars of the people's money that the government which is called upon to conduct the negotiations should not only be honest and able, but should not be called upon to undertake so colossal a task without being given every reasonable opportunity to conduct the necessary preliminary investigations and to work out in detail, with the aid of competent specialists, the necessarily elaborate financial calculations.

However much some of our very best citizens may be opposed on principle to government ownership of railroads, I take it that in case we ever should decide upon a policy of railroad nationalization that there would be and could be no difference of opinion among honest and intelligent men about the advisability of bringing about this great reform in the fairest and most businesslike possible way. Therefore, as it is becoming every day more apparent that our people may, at almost any time, decide to go in for a *régime* of publicly-owned railroads, it is of capital importance that as much light as possible be thrown on the peculiarly knotty problems connected with such a purchase.

#### THE EXAMPLE OF FRANCE.

While France in the past has been very lavish in its generosity toward railroad companies which were in financial difficulties, or which were afraid, or pretended to be afraid that they were in danger of getting into such difficulties, the French government at least had the foresight and the statesmanship to make a businesslike provision for the future. It is no small matter that between the years 1950 and 1960, by an automatic process of purchase and retirement of their stocks and bonds, all the great railroad lines of the country will revert to the nation free and uninumbered.

The original French plan, which has been described in such detail and even too eulogistically by Mr. Richard Kauf-

man,\* was not to have the state buy the roads on credit and pay for them gradually out of the profits, but to let private industry run them and gradually buy up and cancel, in the name of the state, all outstanding stocks and bonds, so that at the termination of their charters the entire system would revert to the state without money and without price. This beautiful plan, which in some important particulars unfortunately has not worked as well as the Belgian-German-Swiss method of direct state purchase and management, has yet many advantages over our American scheme of having no plan whatever, but of drifting blindly for a half a century, and of still believing credulously in the magical effects of competition, several decades after the rest of the world had come to know that attempted competition in railroad transportation not only is bound to be fabulously expensive, but is certain eventually to end in failure.

#### PRUSSIAN METHODS OF PURCHASE.

The experience of Prussia in preparing for and in carrying out the purchase of its railroads is very instructive. Under the guiding hand of Prince Bismarck, aided by Albert von Maybach, it managed the purchase of the railroads with a degree of fairness to stockholders that approached generosity, and yet with such businesslike skill and energy that the government apparently got full value for the capital invested. In accordance with Section 42 of the law of November 3, 1838, the state had the right, according to the usual continental custom, to repurchase the roads by paying the company the "twenty-five times the average net earnings of the five years immediately preceding the date of purchase."†

But as large amounts of capital had been invested on which no immediate returns were possible, the authorities, believing that the purchase price deter-

\**La Politique Française en Matière de Chemins de Fer.*

†Bureau of Census, *Bulletin 21*, paper by Professor B. H. Meyer, p. 67.

mined in this way would not be fairly remunerative to the stockholders, decided to forego the exercise of their legal rights and to conduct the purchase by means of friendly negotiations in which every element of real value, such as the legitimate future prospects of the road, would be given due consideration. Boards were appointed by both parties interested to confer, and, if possible, to arrive at a satisfactory understanding. In order to avoid the necessity of carrying out in too great haste such vast and complicated transactions, agreements were entered into by which certain of the companies, in consideration of a fixed revenue, gave the state possession of their roads, together with the right to purchase them at its convenience. The state was to assume the indebtedness of the roads and to pay the stockholders a certain amount per share in money or in government bonds.\* As a result of this understanding very little actual money changed hands, for most of the stockholders were glad enough to take in payment the gilt-edge state bonds, bearing  $3\frac{1}{2}$  or 4 per cent. interest, offered.

Of necessity, a variety of methods were utilized in dealing with the various roads, but roughly speaking, the roads were divided into two classes, those which had been paying regular dividends, and those which had not. As a rule, the state offered a price for which stockholders were quite willing to sell. As an illustration of the eminently fair and yet strictly businesslike spirit in which negotiations were conducted, take the case of the purchase of the Berlin-Potsdam-Magdeburg railroad.

†“At the second meeting of the joint commission the government representatives, on behalf of the department of public works, offered to make an even exchange for the railway stock of government paper bearing  $3\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. interest. The representatives of the company asked for a dividend of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. At the

third meeting the government raised its offer to a *rente* of 4 per cent. The issue was joined upon this point of a 4 or a  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. *rente*. In other words, the question was one of net earnings as indicative of the cash value of the railway system. The railway board of directors expressed its willingness to recommend to the stockholders the sale of the property at a *rente* of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., but refused to do so on a 4-per-cent. basis. There was no dispute in this stage of the proceedings regarding the amount of the stock and bonds of the company to be exchanged. The only question was that of the rate of return, or dividends.

“It was admitted that the railway had not quite earned the 4 per cent. which the state was willing to give, during the last few years; but there were other considerations which tended to demonstrate an earning capacity in excess of 4 per cent. on the part of the road. Among these considerations, stripping them of their local and detailed applications, were the following:

“(1) The railway is not burdened with obligations to construct additional lines. Authority to issue preferred shares for the only connection still to be constructed has already been granted.

“(2) Most of the holders of the railway shares acquired them as permanent investments and the prospects for increased future profits are good. The present (1879) is a period of depression, and there is every prospect of an increase in traffic and hence, also, of dividends. It may be stated as an economic law, that the volume of railway traffic is continually increasing and that crises like the one from which Germany was suffering at that time can only temporarily interrupt the working out of this law. The Berlin-Potsdam-Magdeburg railway serves a territory which is full of promise for the future. It connects growing trade centers with other leading and growing cities.

“(3) An increase in the passenger traffic must be regarded as certain because of the growing importance of the

\**Etude Comparée du Droit de Rachat*, by M. Paul Deligny, p. 38.

†*Commercial Valuation of Railway Operating Property*, Professor B. H. Meyer, pp. 68, 69.

suburbs of Berlin, especially Potsdam.

"(4) The rate of dividends paid to stockholders during past years is not the real rate which the company was capable of paying, for the reason that nearly 4,000,-000 marks have been paid into a renewal fund. Even during the years of the prevailing crisis, with a falling off in both passenger and freight earnings, payments into the renewal fund have not been suspended. Besides, heavy payments have been made into the amortization fund.

"(5) The potential power of the competition of the lines already acquired by the state in connection with coöperating private lines has been exaggerated. This competition has hitherto resulted in a division of the traffic, and whatever increased losses in traffic the Berlin-Potsdam-Magdeburg Company may suffer in the future will be more than offset by the probable increase in traffic. At any rate, the threatening competition affords no cause for the sale of the property at a price lower than an annual dividend of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

"In the report of the legislative committee appointed to draft a bill for the purchase of the Berlin-Potsdam-Magdeburg railway and the Rhenish railway, the following points were put forward as basal in determining the purchase price:

"(1) The amount of money which the company has invested, including specified *fonds perdu*. Figures are given.

"(2) The 'most important factor in valuation' is the *rente* (dividends) which the company has been paying especially during the last few years.

"(3) The probable change in the rate of return or dividends as a result of the purchase of this railway by the state.

"(4) The more favorable rate of interest which the state can command.

"(5) The extent to which the acquisition of the railway in question is necessary for the successful execution of the state program.

"In its treatment of the Rhenish railway the legislative committee states that a mere glance at the map will show that

the 'lines of the Rhenish Railway Company are the most important and valuable' of all the lines which the state ought to acquire. Attention is called to the great international commerce which this railway system commands between Belgium and the Netherlands and the middle and upper Rhine, and from this region with middle and South Germany. The system has connections with the North sea and the lower Weser; with Luxembourg, which is a place of military importance; southward again with the Moselle and Saale, and through these with the federal domains of Alsace-Lorraine. By means of these connections with the German federal railways and the railway of Hesse and Baden, the Rhenish lines have access to the commerce of Switzerland and Italy, etc. In a word, the legislative committee puts into the foreground the valuable traffic connections of this railway system in getting at an estimate of its value. Of course, other considerations like those mentioned above in connection with other systems are not excluded.

"The memorial relating to the repurchase of the Berlin-Stettin Railway is divided into a number of parts, dealing with the matters indicated below:

"Part I. contains a list of the lines operated by the company, the length of these, and the date of opening; and similar facts relating to branch lines upon which the state has guaranteed interest.

"Part II. contains a statement of the original cost of construction (*anlagekapital*) as represented by the authorized issues of common and preferred shares for different parts of the system, classified into seven different issues. In this connection an account is also given of the manner in which net earnings are determined for the different parts of the system, and the method of book-keeping followed under the legal provisions relating to interest guarantees; in addition an itemized statement of the sums advanced by the state in interest guarantees is shown.

"Part III. is devoted to a consideration

of traffic and operating conditions, embracing a statement of the territory served by the railway, leading cities and junction points, traffic connections, chief industries served along the line, proportion of freight and passenger traffic, traffic agreements, operating arrangements with other lines, union stations, etc.

"Part IV. The railway and its price (*kaufobjekt und kaufpreis*): (1) The price of items included in Part I. above and real estate not devoted to operations; (2) the price of the equipment, (3) the company funds, such as reserve and renewal funds, pension, relief and sick funds; in short, a detailed balance sheet.

"Part V. The financial significance of the repurchase to the state. In these rather extended paragraphs the results of the operation of the railway are treated and an estimate made of the probable returns to the state. Branch lines, the nature and extent of competition, harbor facilities and connections, general operating conditions in relation to the general business conditions, train service and operating expenses, financial obligations to other enterprises, the economic ties between main and branch lines, influence of this railway upon existing state lines, and analogous topics are treated with considerable minuteness. A large, detailed analytical table of earnings, expenses and net earnings, the various funds, and surplus is appended.

"Exactly the same method of investigation and procedure was followed in the case of three other lines purchased by the state at the same time."

While in this way the government strove to be scrupulously fair to stockholders, at the same time, in striving to protect the interests of the state it acted with great business prudence, energy and skill. Its aggressive business initiative was well illustrated in the case mentioned by M. Picard,\* in which the government, while negotiating directly with railroad managers, arranged to have large blocks of stock bought secretly for it at the regular

market price by banking syndicates, which bound themselves in writing not to let any one know for whom this stock was purchased. Moreover, when the market rates for stock seemed to be getting unreasonably high, by means of the official press and newspapers that were friendly to the government, sufficient influence was brought to bear to depress the market and thus keep down to a reasonable level the prices of railroad securities. As another indication of the fairness with which stockholders were treated, we have the interesting fact mentioned by Professor Frank Parsons† that:

"The shares of the railway rose considerably in prospect, owing to the stoppage of destructive competition. For example, a few months before Parliament opened in the fall of 1879, the shares of the Cologne & Munden road were quoted at about par, while in November they stood at about 141. In the same way, the stock of the Rhenish railway rose from 70 odd to over 90."

It is worthy of remark that although in taking over its railroads the single state of Prussia had to obligate itself to the extent of 886,251,970 marks, or approximately \$221,562,992, there was no sensible decline in the value of government bonds.

#### THE EXAMPLE OF SWITZERLAND.

So carefully and so skilfully did the Swiss Confederation make its preparations for the purchase of the railroads that in spite of the democratic and decentralized nature of its government, it succeeded in consummating the transfer on a basis that was at once eminently fair to both railroad stockholders and the tax-paying public. This achievement is all the more creditable because of the fact that while the Prussian purchase in 1879 of nearly all the remaining private railroads, was merely a natural and almost inevitable outcome of a policy that had been begun a number of years before, on the other hand, the Swiss purchase voted in 1898

\**Traité des Chemins de Fer*, Vol. I., p. 690.  
†*The Railways, the Trusts and the People*, footnote p. 323.

was a new and almost a revolutionary move, as up to this time, all the railroads of the country had remained in the hands of private corporations.

As was the custom in all continental countries, clauses had been incorporated into the original Swiss railroad charters, providing for the repurchase of the roads by the nation at the end of 30, 45, 60, 75, 90 or 99 years. As compensation, the government was required to give the companies, according to the date of purchase, either 25, 22½ or 20 times the average net profits during the preceding ten years, and in no case less than the actual cost of the road. In the event that the repurchase should not be made until the ninety-ninth year, the company was to be reimbursed only to an amount equal to the probable cost of the reproduction of the road at that time. The roads were to be handed over in a thoroughly satisfactory condition, and if found necessary, a sum of money sufficient to put them in such a condition was to be deducted from the purchase price.

Carefully drawn up as these provisions were, however, they did not prove to be entirely satisfactory, and as a consequence in 1872 a new railroad law was passed, giving to the confederation the powers of regulation which the cantons had shown themselves incapable of exercising, and providing in greater detail the method to be employed in determining a purchase price whenever the government might decide to take them over. This law attempted to establish the meaning of the two phrases, "Cost of construction," and "Net profits," which later proved to be such bones of contention.

As the amount of the purchase price of the roads depended largely on what items were to be included under the headings, "Cost of construction" and "Net profits," it will be seen that a proper determination of the meaning of these phrases was all important.

But the new provisions relating to this subject incorporated into the law of 1872 did not, however, settle all the questions

involved, and consequently another law had to be passed in 1883, regulating in even a greater detail the methods of accounting to be employed by the roads. This law provided that only the actual "cost of construction" or acquisition should be considered as assets of the roads. For example, in case one railroad had been purchased by another for less than the original "cost of construction," the government would only be required to pay for it what the road actually cost its last owner. To prevent the roads from forcing the government to make good their losses from foolish or unfortunate expenditures, it was decreed that after a road had been open for traffic, the cost of completion, extension or of additional equipment should not be regarded as assets, except when such expenses had been incurred in the carrying out of needed improvements in the interest of traffic. The cost of maintenance of way, and replacement of worn-out rolling stock, etc., was to be paid out of annual revenues, or out of special funds created for such purposes. And, lastly, any items that had been incorrectly placed in the construction account, or any amounts which, for any reason, were removable from the assets of the balance sheets, were to be replaced from the annual surplus revenues of the roads. All these changes combined involved an elimination of over \$20,000,000 from the construction account.

The question of "cost of construction" had been gone into in great detail in this law, because, on account of the comparatively light traffic of the roads up to this time, they would have found it to their advantage to determine their purchase price on the basis of their original cost. But as traffic became denser, as dividends increased, and as it became evident that the repurchase price would be determined on the basis of past "net earnings," it became necessary for the government in 1896 to enact a second accounting law for the purpose, among other things, of specifying with even greater definiteness, just

what could rightfully be considered as "net earnings."

The railway companies hereafter were to be compelled to submit their accounts to the Bundesrat for examination and approval before even submitting them to the stockholders. Special vouchers relating to "net profits" and the amount of capital stock outstanding were to be provided, and in order to verify them the government was to have access to the books of the company. To avoid confusion as to the charter provisions, accounts and the differing conditions of tracks, and equipment of the different lines, separate itemized statements were to be made by the companies for each line owned by them.

Like the law of 1882, this law also specified a number of items which were to be included or excluded from the construction and operation accounts. For instance, the construction account was not to be burdened with the cost of incorporation, with losses due to fluctuations in the market values of stocks and bonds, or with subsidies to other railway, highway or bridge companies. Finally, the roads were not to be allowed to pay dividends to stockholders until their accounts had received the approval of the government.

Nevertheless, in spite of all these carefully-drawn preparatory laws, when the time arrived to make the purchase the Swiss people were amazed to discover that a number of important questions remained to be dealt with. As a consequence, "the repurchase law of 1897," says Professor B. H. Meyer,\* "was supplemented by resolutions of the Bundesrat, in which the application of the accounting law of 1896 to particular railway properties was specifically indicated. Thus complete formulas were worked out in great detail, covering such terms as cost of construction, renewal fund, net profits, revenues from operation, operating expenses, receipts not to be included in operating revenues, expenses not to be included in operating revenues, expenses not to be

included in operating expenses, and deduction from the repurchase price. But notwithstanding all these detailed legal and administrative provisions concerning the interpretation of the charter provisions and accounting laws, when repurchases were actually undertaken, recourse was had to the Supreme Court of Switzerland, which, in a series of three decisions finally determined the points in dispute and laid down the rules of procedure."

Among the most important decisions handed down by the federal Supreme Court, was one in connection with the Northeastern company, defining the meaning of the term, "Original cost of construction," which showed clearly the attitude taken in this matter by the highest tribunal in the land.

†"In a preliminary discussion," says Professor B. H. Meyer, "the court calls attention to the various meanings of the word 'capital,' and states that both parties are agreed that 'money capital' should be considered in the controversy. In charters granted since 1872 the term 'original cost of construction' was replaced by the expression 'established original cost of construction of the existing arrangements.' The question then is, What norms shall be used in determining a fair equivalent for a fair repurchase. The company contended that original cost of construction, in a wider sense, should include expenses incurred in the emission of shares of stock, in securing loans, and to cover losses from variations in the price of exchange on loans. This the court denied. Regarding the claim of the company that costs of organization should be regarded as a part of the original cost of construction, the court held that this depended entirely upon the particular circumstances. In so far as the expenses of organization found useful application in connection with construction, or in making the completed railway possible, they may be included in an estimate of the cost of construction. More

\**Commercial Valuation of Railway Operating Property*, pp. 72, 73.

†*Commercial Valuation of Railway Operating Property*, pp. 72, 73.

than that, cost of construction, the court said, must include all sacrifices (*aufwendungen*) which the owner of the railway has made in order to create and perfect the establishment. Hence, interest paid during the period of construction may be included, also, 'the cost of organization, administration, as well as technical and administrative superintendence of construction.' The court then proceeds to show that expenses incurred by the company, in order to liberate itself from burdensome charter provisions, or in order to secure an amendment to its charter, may be included in the cost of construction, in so far as these expenses were incurred in the interest of the railway.

"The court objects to the inclusion in the cost of construction of money expended in railways (*bahnanlagen*) which have been destroyed or abandoned. The company claimed that the established original cost of construction, within the meaning of the law of 1872 meant the cost of construction not only of the existing establishment, but also of the establishments which had preceded the existing one. In other words, the company desired to take into consideration, in a cumulative manner, succeeding epochs in the life of the railway in determining the original cost of its construction. The court denied this cumulative method. Again, the Northeastern company claimed that original costs should include moneys expended in bridges, streets, local railways, subventions, and all *fonds perdu*. The court held that, in deciding this point, the legal ownership of the establishments, such as roads and branch railways, for which moneys had been expended, was not the decisive factor, but rather whether these establishments served in a permanent way the interests of the railway. The situs of the legal right of private property in these subsidiary establishments was held to be immaterial. It was decided that either the railway could receive compensation for these expenditures in an increased repurchase price, or the state should assume responsibility for the sub-

ventions thus made and still to be made under contract in the future. The court denied that the cost of renewals constitutes a part of the original cost of construction, and asserted that renewals should be charged to operating expenses, and that all expenditures for extensions and for material improvements in the existing plant should be charged to capital. In connection with the improvement and strengthening of the superstructure, the court again denied the right of the company to take into consideration the cumulative effect of different epochs in the life of the railway. 'The one method of calculation excludes the other,' said the court. Either the existing establishment must be taken as the basis of the calculations or the establishment which the present one has replaced.

"Among the minor points decided in the matter of the Saint Gothard Railway were the following:

"(1) Gratuities paid to officials and employés with a view of cultivating their good will and zeal, and thus increasing traffic and the efficiency of operation, may be included in operating expenses. These items, it was admitted, were in addition to regular wages and salaries; they were voluntary; they did not rest upon legal obligations nor upon custom of many years' standing; they were not even necessary for the successful operation of the line. Nevertheless, the court held that the fact of these items having been paid was sufficient to warrant their inclusion in operating expenses.

"(2) The railway had established private schools, both primary and intermediate, as well as certain commercial schools, in a number of places, enumerated in the decision. It had erected schoolhouses, engaged teachers, and maintained such schools free of expense. The company realized the necessity of providing educational facilities for the children of German employés in towns where no other schools were available, in order to make the tenure of these employés more permanent and attractive. The expenses

incurred for educational purposes were allowed by the court in determining the amount of the net profits, within the meaning of the charter provisions.

"(3) The railway had maintained provision houses at various stations in which employés could secure the necessities of life at cost, and have them transferred over the railway to their place of residence free of charge. Provision houses of this kind the court did not consider necessary in the same sense that the establishment of schools was necessary; nevertheless, the items of expense incurred for this purpose by the railway were admitted to the special balance sheet in accordance with which the repurchase price was determined.

"(4) The court denied the right of the company to include in operating expenses, presents and friendly financial aid extended to employés."

During this period, in addition to the immensely important laws above mentioned two minor laws which were of great value to railroad employés were passed. The first, a law enacted December 20, 1878, provided for the establishment of sick funds and pension funds for railroad employés; and the second, enacted June 27, 1890, reduced the hours of labor of railroad employés.

The deliberate and statesmanlike methods of purchase employed by Prussia and Switzerland stand out in glaring contrast not only with the unbusinesslike plan of procedure followed by Belgium, but also with the almost revolutionary impulsiveness with which Italy in 1905 inaugurated her new *régime* of state-managed railroads. This step by Italy, for which practically no preparation had been made, and which necessarily resulted in commercial confusion and industrial complications of all sorts, should serve as a warning to us, as well as to other nations, *not to put off all preparations for such a move until by some popular upheaval of public opinion, suddenly we find ourselves, as the Italian did, with a huge system of government railroads on our hands to be managed as best*

*we are able.* An unintelligent reactionary policy of this sort is sure to be costly if not actually disastrous to the entire commercial and industrial life of a country. The only really conservative policy is to prepare for and to make the best of what is seen to be inevitable.

#### THE PROBLEM IN THE UNITED STATES.

The United States government, when it undertakes to nationalize its railroads, will find itself confronted with some special problems which European countries have not had to face. In our railroad charters, unfortunately, there have been incorporated no clauses providing for the possibility of a future governmental purchase of the roads. As a result of this oversight, we shall be forced to have recourse to one of three methods—either purchase by means of friendly negotiations, or purchase by the exercise of the right of "eminent domain"—or both. In the case of our recent acquisition of the Panama railroad, the purchase finally was made by means of a regular business bargain. But before that bargain was consummated, the government, in order to force recalcitrant stockholders to sell for a fair price, found it necessary to introduce a bill into Congress which passed the Senate unanimously, and was favorably reported by the Interstate Commerce Committee of the House, providing for the condemnation and purchase of the road in accordance with the right of "eminent domain." As the stockholders of the road at this point decided to accept the government's offer for their stock, further action was unnecessary, and the bill was never brought up for final passage in the House.

This miniature purchase by our government has had a very salutary effect. It has cleared our national atmosphere of a number of fallacious arguments against the possible future nationalization of our railroads. First of all, it has established the constitutional right of our government not only to own but to buy railroads. Secondly, it has shown the possibility, and even the advisability, under certain cir-

cumstances, of the utilization by our government of its right of "eminent domain": and thirdly, it is demonstrating at the present time, by the marked improvement which is taking place in the quality and quantity of the railroad service offered, by the important reductions that

are being made in rates, and by the greater initiative shown in every phase of the management of the road, that our government is capable of effective and satisfactory railroad administration.

CARL S. VROOMAN.

*Bloomington, Illinois.*

## IS MODERN ORGANIZED CHRISTIANITY A FAILURE?

BY P. GAVAN DUFFY.

**A** STARTLING question? Yes; but one saved from a sensationalism that might otherwise accrue to it by the fact that it is being raised to-day, not by the agnostic or firebrand of the street corner, but by the teachers of religion.

Peile, in his Bampton Lectures at Oxford in 1907, sent a thrill through the English ecclesiastical world when he boldly and wisely gave voice to thoughts that were smouldering in many hearts, and in his "Reproach of the Gospel," frankly inquired into what he termed, "the apparent failure of Christianity." And those who are at all familiar with the wording of the recent Lambeth Encyclical, put forth by 243 Anglican bishops from all over the world, cannot fail to mark in their positive statements as to past neglect and present and future duty of the church in social service, a recognition of much that Peile and his school are contending for.

For the purpose of this article, however, we shall restrict ourselves to present-day Christianity in the United States and under the term "Organized Christianity" include all Christian denominations.

This marvelous age, with its awakening consciousness, its many thinkers, its swing—only just begun but to be completed—from materialism to the spiritual, is essentially an age of challenge. Any society—be it religious or secular—that makes an appeal to the public claim on

the ground of its standing for mental, moral or physical improvement, is justly and rightly called upon to make good. And the test that thinking men apply is that bequeathed to humanity by the Divine Master, nineteen hundred years ago, "By their fruits ye shall know them." And because the day of privilege has gone by, or when men are willing to stand for it, all institutions, they insist, must stand or fall by the same rule. Thus the church which hitherto has been exempt, and permitted by the great bulk of humanity to hold an undisputed position as judge and censor of men and things, is being called from the judge's seat to the bar to plead to indictments that are brought against her.

Let it be clearly understood at the outset, that the inquiry to-day is not one that enters into the realm of dogma, but of the products, the practical value and worth of organized Christianity as a factor in the world's progress for good.

Undeniably the religion of Jesus Christ was placed in the world to produce two great effects in its followers. They were to be, "the salt of the earth," and "the light of the world." Quite apart from all dogmatic question and controversy, many devout men, clergy and laity who are to play a large part in the religious life of the future, are asking these questions: Has the salt retained its savor? Is the light shining?

A short while ago the religious world was startled by the suicide of a minister of one of the orthodox denominations. The usual comment was made by religious teachers—the man was a coward! But such an easy dismissal of the tragedy, however much it might have passed in the past, will not do for the twentieth century. The day of platitude has gone by and the trend of enlightened thought in dealing with all sorts of defection is to fix the responsibility before passing sentence and to seek the cause, or causes, that produced the effect. If a man is a tramp, what made him a tramp? Is a man a criminal? Then, why? If a minister is a suicide, what made him suicide? These are the questions we deal with in the twentieth century—causes and not merely effects. We want reality; the world is sick of pharisaism!

In this particular case the unfortunate clergyman left behind him an epistle which was a terrible indictment of modern Christianity. Claiming that he found, after many years of service, that Christianity was emptied of the spirit of Christ and that the only trinity worshiped was money, success and pleasure; feeling that he stood alone (here surely was his mistake) he apparently, in disappointment untold, lost his own faith in the wholesale destruction of his ideal, which he claimed to see around him, and so ended his life.

Perish the shortsightedness that would ignore the indictment and merely pass sentence on the framer of it! For, clearly, if there be any degree of truth in the indictment, there must be a terribly destructive force at work which threatens, if not the physical, that which is more important, the spiritual life of mankind. So the question with many resolves itself into this: Was it merely the man who failed or the system? The tremendous import of the reply to that question is such as to need no pointing out.

“By their fruits ye shall know them”—systems as well as individuals, and none but the blindest partisan looking into the

world of organized Christianity to-day can doubt but that there was some truth in the indictment.

One of two things must of necessity happen in every age of the church's life—either she will so act upon the world as to be constantly enlarging and changing for good man's mental, moral and bodily environment, or the world will so act upon her as to produce its own effect. There is no middle course. Systems no more than individuals can serve two masters and any attempt at compromise is as absurd as it is futile.

As the salt of the earth, Christianity is to be the preventive of corruption; as the light of the world, it must be as a system as unlike the world as daylight is from darkness. And it is only when the terms are stated frankly, reduced to the words of Christ Himself, that we realize the appalling contrast of what modern organized Christianity is, with what it should be. Unless it is endeavoring really and truly to translate the Spirit of the Master in the world, in standing for fair play, the friend of the friendless, the champion of the weak, the enemy of the tyrant and the oppressor, the reliever of the distressed, the protector of the “fatherless children and widows and all who are desolate and oppressed,” it matters not how doctrinally pure and sound she may be, or how theologically accurate, she fails to represent her Lord and His most holy mission. Says a well-known dignitary of the Episcopal church in a letter to the writer of this article, in writing upon similar lines and concerns, “If as a church we do not stand precisely for this thing; if as a church we have no treasures of this sort to point to, then, as I look at it, it matters very little to mankind, or to God, what else we stand for or what other treasures we display.”

There is a good deal of fictitious prudence, made up wholly of timidity or false expediency, which lovers of the truth must assail to-day. The truth must be as frankly stated as by the Apostles of old and even though both it, and the facts it

calls upon us to face, hurt and hurt badly, it is the bounden duty of all honest religious teachers to state it, even at the cost of suffering. If this were fully recognized we should not need the aids and methods of ascetism in religion. Suffering in abundance would be found as the result of standing for the unglossed truth, to be endured, not selfishly for the sufferer's own individual spiritual perfection, but in obedience to the Master's law of love which made the end of all suffering the conversion and saving of others.

To that end, then, it must be frankly stated that much that passes under the name of Christianity to-day would not be recognized by the Divine Founder of the Christian religion. What He came to teach and later committed as a sacred trust to the Christian church was essentially a revolutionary force. It started out with a clear, definite and emphatic declaration of war upon the world; a battle to be fought until the end of time, with the weapons of the Prince of Peace and for the world's salvation. The religious rulers of Christ's time saw the issue very clearly and they met it. It was "expedient" for them that He should suffer and they crucified him. But He came back from the dead and His followers turned the world upside-down. Empires fell before the Cross, and great statesmen, wedded to existing institutions, saw clearly that either Christianity or they must give way and in sheer defense of their position inaugurated a crusade of blood and slaughter. Yet, what Peile terms, "the wild, untameable spirit of Christianity" could not be subdued and it issued victorious.

But who looks upon Christianity, as it is preached and taught to-day, as a revolutionary force? "Marvel not if the world hate you," wrote the Apostle centuries ago. It was to be the normal relation of the world to Christianity. But to-day the marvel would be if the world did hate organized Christianity, and it must be sadly confessed that the man or woman whom the world does hate is

usually *persona non grata* in the average Christian congregation.

Thus men are forced to this conclusion: Either Christianity has so changed and altered the world's character as to have changed its hatred into affection for the principles of Christ, or the world has sadly altered the Church. Here again there is no position between these two. Who can doubt for one moment but that the world—using the term in its theological sense—is still the same old world, full of self and selfishness and as widely apart from the principles of Christ as the north pole is from the south?

It may be urged, and no doubt will be, that criticism of this kind is an easy task and that Christ foretold that there would always be imperfections in His Kingdom. True; but criticism would not be one-tenth so easy were it not for the complete self-satisfaction in the Christian world with existing conditions and those which have prevailed in the past years. The ideal was ever to be striven for, and no degree of attainment can be reached whilst Christendom, principally through its teachers, is blind to its manifold defects in modern practice. And if it be further urged that we have dealt only in generalities, can organized Christianity dare to face particularization? If so the task is a very simple one. One has only to turn and point to the great multitude which no man can number of those who remain outside the folds, preferring their own darkness, if such one pleases to term it. The greatest standing reproach to modern Christianity, which above all things else proclaims its failure, is the great mass of working people who are holding aloof from it and who claim they see no light to guide them in a selfish Christendom. It was the "common people" who we are told heard Christ gladly. It was they who loved him and it is they who would hear and love Him now. The report of the joint commission on capital and labor which reported at the last General Convention of the Episcopal church made among others the following significant

statement: "The labor unionist praises the Carpenter of Nazareth. He distrusts the church which officially represents that master Workman, while the church through ignorance fails to understand the laborer's aims and motives. Thus one portion of Christendom bears witness against herself, for any body or society that makes the claim to be the official representative of the Master, and which acknowledges her ignorance of the aims and motives of those who were and are especially Christ's great care, simply declares the reason why she has forfeited the confidence of that section of humanity.

All this is intensified when we realize that Christ marked out this very class as the great spiritual element in humanity and the first benediction of His Kingdom was pronounced upon the poor. But to-day it is only here and there that we find a few men actually awakened to this condition of neglect. The best that can be said of the religious world at present is its desire for unity. And the truest thing that can be said is that if every sect and church in Protestantism—where the chief desire for unity is being manifested—be brought into one great combination, this will in no sense remove the great reproach we have spoken of, but merely gather closer together the many in the same condemnation.

If conditions, such as those dealt with in the report we have quoted, be as stated, then when the last word has been said by the many who are clamoring for reunion to-day as the one desideratum for perfection, the one panacea for all evils, it will not be surprising if they wake up to the realization that the masses in the meanwhile—their needs and cares and cries forgotten—are more and more alienated from the ranks of organized Christianity. Effort for reunion must have as its basis in every Christian organization this first principle—*reform along the line of corporate conduct*. Without that foundation the structure men would rear would be a house built upon the sands!

To suppose that the unjust and evil

conditions prevailing in the social world to-day could not be altered, if Christianity, freeing itself from the influences of Mammon and worldly wisdom and relying solely upon the methods and power of the Master, *willed it*, is to give the lie direct to the history of early Christendom with its wonders. But just so long as it is the silent witness of, or sharer in, the social evils that are only too prevalent, failure must be written upon much of its mission. Apologize as much as you will, explain away responsibility as much as you like, absolve and whitewash the defects of ecclesiastical landlordism for as long as you please, but what sane man in his *heart* feels that any or all of these acquit from the Divine censure! And to explain away conditions under Christian governance on the ground that they are no worse, or not so bad, as those which prevail under systems full of the coldest commercialism, is to forget the true standard of comparison and the ringing words of Christ in His picture of the Pharisee in the Temple.

Brotherhood is one of the most vital elements of our Lord's religion, as is responsibility for our fellow-men's moral and physical well-being, and His whole teaching goes to show that where the creatures of neglect, outside the pale of respectability and religion, might enter into His Kingdom, those who should be shut out were those who claimed to see and in their self-satisfaction asked with contempt, "Are we blind also?"

Undoubtedly one of the marks of failure to-day is social discrimination. The so-called lower classes are neither deaf nor blind. They both hear and read the words of St. James in his scathing rebuke of those who seat the man with the gold ring and in fine apparel in the good place and say to the poor "sit here under my footstool"; and their eyes are open to see that a man's value in the congregation is invariably measured—with many notable exceptions, of course—by the depth of his purse. And if anything else was needed to convince them a visit to an auction sale

of pews in connection with some of our fashionable churches is all that would be necessary. Let us be quite frank about our much-boasted equality and brotherhood in modern Christianity. It is a beautiful theory reduced only to practice for the two or three moments the rich and poor kneel side by side at the communion rail. There its brief life has its beginning and its ending!

It would be nothing short of injustice to place the whole of the blame for existing conditions upon the shoulders of the rich laity. To follow the line of the modern novelist who writes with a reforming purpose and depict people of wealth as using Christianity as a garb whilst they plundered and robbed, is too low and too extravagant a view of human society. If the poor claim to be neglected, certainly the rich have an equally strong claim. When the disciples of the Baptist came to question Christ, among the signs He enumerated for them to tell St. John was, "the poor have the Gospel preached to them." Reverently may it not be said of modern organized Christianity, that one of its signs of regeneration shall be, "the rich have the Gospel preached unto them"? Our Lord neglected neither; modern Christianity neglects both. Not, of course, that the districts in which the well-to-do live are as barren of churches and workers as the slums and tenement quarters; not that the rich do not attend the multitude of religious temples—only that the fact of many churches and many preachers and many packed congregations, each man in his own highly-priced pew, is not synonymous with "the Gospel preached unto them."

Christ did not mince matters with the wealthy. He frankly told them that it was "a hard thing" for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. How many hear that frank statement to-day? Or of their responsibilities as stewards? Or that wealth carries only a curse unless it is got and made in clean ways? No; just so long as Christianity smiles benignly upon the prevalent compartment theory of religion, that separates the ethics

of Christian life on a Sunday from the rest of the week; just so long as timidity hides frankness and muzzles pulpits from which the rich are taught; just so long as they see clergy who, knowing that it is a hard thing for a rich man to enter the Kingdom, are quite willing to take the chances themselves in speculating and candidating for the highly-paid positions of religious teachership, just so long will thinking men insist that the lion's share of the responsibility for the unjust conditions we have spoken of must be shifted to where it really belongs—the shoulders of those (and there are many) among the teachers who insult the intelligence of the rich and dwarf their own individuality by a fear that the frankness of hard sayings will offend the former, and a concealment of them add to the latter's "usefulness." If we could rid the ministerial vocabulary of two words for a time, "tact" and "expediency"—two cloaks of great spiritual evil—we should have taken a long step towards giving the rich the chance they are entitled to.

Of all the tactless men that ever lived St. John the Baptist perhaps was the most so. But when he found Herod living in sin his fearless conscience knew only one thing to do; he told Herod the truth and as a result lost his head. It never seemed to occur to him that he might have prolonged his "usefulness" had he been a little less blunt, or sought a more favorable opportunity to administer the rebuke, or winked at Herod's sin so that from a royal palace his influence could have continued to have gone forth to others. No, these are subtleties that the wisdom of recent years has brought to Christianity! The rich need more "tactless" teachers!

The fact of the matter is that the destructive element of modern Christianity is the spirit of the age. All unconsciously—in justice let that be emphasized—all unconsciously, the spirit of the age has subtly won its way and substituted itself for the power that no money could buy and which alone can, in its exercise, make Christianity again what

it was once before—a revolutionary force. Money has won a false place in the Christian kingdom. So we pray for missions and then go into the vestry to count the offertory for our actual possibilities; so laity label the clergy and their abilities as a so many “hundred or thousand-dollar-a-year men”; so we insist that the machinery of parishes and missions must be run on the same principles as the ordinary counting-house—though the ends be laudably different; so we hesitate to inaugurate any new work or to attack any stronghold of satan until the money “is in sight,” showing in practice, what most would last of all admit, that God can do just as much as man can do and no more, and that man can do just as much as money will admit—no more and no less!

Take one last standing testimony to the failure of modern Christianity. In every city of any size in the United States is to be found a stronghold of vice, where with the full knowledge of the Christian world, satan holds undisputed and unquestioned claim. These are the places where the starved victims of men’s greed go to sell their souls and give their bodies for defilement. They have given up the struggle, the scanty wage of the sweat-shop, the ill housing and weary grind of cheerless servitude. They go into the darkness; we speak of them as “the lost.” Occasionally some religious zealot may appeal to Cæsar, and armed with Cæsar’s weapons—the police and the patrol-wagon—and fortified by the comfortable assurance of the endorsement of respectability, cast the bruised and wounded souls into Cæsar’s prison in the name of the Good Shepherd who sought the sheep that was lost. Corporately, this is the nearest modern Christianity has got to the solution of this immense problem. Individually, a sister of mercy, a Salvation Army lass or some pious soul may make their best effort.

That Christianity stands powerless to-day in the face of such questions of moral evil is a mark that something is wrong. The clergy shun such districts, fearful of the unhallowed tongues of phar-

isaic respectability, and the bulk of Christendom goes on its way rejoicing as if the lost must remain lost or as if no such problem existed.

Yet, said Christ of Christians, “Ye are the light of the world.” And when the Light of the Incarnate One shone, it was in the blackest spots and where the darkness was most gross; down among the publicans and sinners, the thieves and the murderers, the harlots and the lost!

These are but a few of the marks which are pointing to the apparent failure of modern organized Christianity and making men’s hearts sigh for the power of early Christendom, when, out of its poverty of earthly means, it was able to cast out devils, heal the sick, restore the penitent, seek and save the lost, and mould the saint. These are some of the reasons why men are asking the question, “Is average Christianity really Christianity at all?” These are the signs which explain why the Sermon on the Mount is sighed over as a beautiful but impossible dream by the very followers of the Divine Teacher.

Many may say, why raise the questions when you cannot answer them? The reply is, no one will ever think of them, not to mention solving them, until they are raised, and it is better to be conscious of the decay under appearances than to be deceived by what merely seems to be and is not. It is significant that the Bampton lecturer of 1907, who thrilled the ecclesiastical world, when speaking of plans of reform, put aside all fear of criticism and misunderstanding and called first of all for a Christian clergy. By this he meant, of course, a clergy full of the spirit of the Master instead of mere professionalism. People will be as their teachers and just so long as Christianity is presented in its conventional way and accepted as a mere insurance against eternal loss, rather than a great force for the social and moral welfare of the world, with the first duty inculcated in every Christian mind, that in obedience to God the responsibility for one’s brother is laid upon each soul that hopes for a hereafter

of bliss and joy—whilst the former prevails over the latter, the failures of organized Christianity will always be glaringly patent.

The possibilities and powers of Christianity are unknown to-day because they are only manifested in action; and at the beginning of the twentieth century, after trying every human scheme for the amelioration of the world, we are forced back from our very tiny half-successes to realize that the only plan to which success was divinely promised is that which remains untried—Christ's Christianity.

When ecclesiastical rulers *all* cease to be merely ecclesiastical magistrates, to become good physicians of sin-stricken souls; when the code of respectability gives way to that of Christ who pardoned human frailties which were not respectable and shut out the cold professionalizers who apparently only shunned ways the world condemned to give their cold, unlovely hearts up to covetousness which was and is respectable; when self-interest and selfishness give way to the desire for brotherhood, when the term success is no longer synonymous for cure of souls; when the average layman ceases to deceive himself in supposing that he can combine Christianity with greed; when men stop and think and realize that mere belief will not mean salvation and that in believing they are doing no more than the devils who believe and tremble; then and then only will it be impossible to raise a question like that at the head of this article. And that will mean when Christianity again becomes Christian.

What that means none can state better than Peile: "To make the world Christian. The word implies a revolution so tremendous that the mere naming of it moves experience to an incredible smile, and makes enthusiasm itself falter. And yet it is the task our Lord laid upon His disciples, the task in which all baptized Christians, lay or cleric, man or woman, are solemnly pledged to take their part. And that we may be fit to take our part there is one thing needful; if we are to help at all in making the world Christian,

we must first be really Christians ourselves; and I fear that for the most of us, for all except a very few, that means we must become Christians. We must learn with pain and wonder to look on existence as Christ looked on it. If we cling to the old values, and are content to rule our lives by the compromises and catchwords of worldly wisdom; if we are satisfied with ourselves and our standards—then we need conversion; the starved, commonplace spirit of us must suffer a change 'into something rich and strange' before we have a right to call ourselves disciples of Jesus Christ, or profess to be forwarding His cause in the world."

That day will be hastened when the question of modern organized Christianity's failure are raised and faced more generally. The writer is well aware that he may seem presumptuous and be thought of only as one who is seemingly passing judgment on untold numbers of men who he freely acknowledges are better and wiser than himself. But it is of systems rather than of men he has written, a criticism of corporate rather than of individual Christianity—the honest expression of one who refuses to cry peace when there is no peace or to admit that loyalty to Christ and His Kingdom consists in blindness to the manifest defects in modern Christianity or the legal righteousness which masquerades as Christian practice.

A new religious movement has begun which nothing can check. Growing, as it is, silently, in people's hearts one of its first effects must be the destruction of false ideals. Call the movement a New Reformation, if you will, but whatever it is, God is manifest behind it. And in every quarter of the globe He is calling to men He is raising up, men who are not afraid to share the reproach of the Incarnate Son, or to suffer for their "indiscreet" frankness at the hands of those wedded to what seems to be rather than really is, "Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet and show My people their transgressions."

P. GAVAN DUFFY.

## INDUSTRIAL CLASSES AS FACTORS IN RACIAL DEVELOPMENT.

BY GEORGE R. STETSON.

THE ANNUAL reports of the Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops in the United Kingdom furnish abundant material and data for eugenic study in all the divisions of our social organism which are immediately affected by the numerous and increasing demands and competition of our industrial life.

A study having for its immediate object the correction of manifest evils and the neutralization of the physical and social deterioration which in a great degree are inseparable from the conditions prevailing in operative life, and the mental atrophy resulting from the narrowing of the faculties due to the lack of use, the mechanizing influence of machinery, and the extreme division of labor.

That there has been great material progress, and with it a contemporary, if not continuous, or commensurate improvement in the condition of the working classes can hardly be questioned, as it can be statistically shown, as has been done by Mr. Giffen and other statistical experts; but, on the other hand, to determine the favorable or unfavorable influence of this improved material condition subjectively, upon the mind, morals and physique of these classes, is not so easy a task.

In our industrial progress we meet with violent reactions and reflex movements which, while they do not stop the generally progressive movement, yet effectively retard it, and leave their unmistakable and indelible mark upon the mind, morals and physique of some of the factors in that progress.

These currents and counter currents and the conditions resulting, are the proper field of economic, sociologic and eugenic studies which are as important to society, as the study of the ocean currents is to the navigator and to commerce.

To the factory system we undoubtedly

owe great material prosperity; but in the words of Mr. Taylor, Her Majesty's Superintending Inspector of Factories for Scotland and Ireland in 1900, "I do not shut my eyes to the other side of the account.

"The huge concentration of labor in industrial centers, the increasingly important position assigned to capital in production; the devastation of some of our most beautiful landscapes; the pollution of rivers and the atmosphere; the supersession of the craftsman, and the divorce of the industrial faculty from workmanship, causes me to doubt if material prosperity is, after all, the greatest blessing a country can possess."

The factory system is of great antiquity. In England it was established during the Roman occupation—the employés were servile, and the processes manual; the gradual evolution from servile labor and manual processes to free labor and motive power was first marked in the middle of the eighteenth century by the establishment of water-mills, and later in the century by a steam-mill; and in the nineteenth century by the establishment of the modern factory system with steam-power.

It is remarked that the new factories were not only "dens of infamy, but hot-beds of disease."

The cruelty and misery suffered by the operatives, the excessive hours of labor, the practical slavery of the workhouse and pauper children, the gross neglect of hygiene and sanitation, and the consequent serious epidemics, aroused public opinion, and in 1802 the first Factory Sanitation Act for "The preservation of the health and morals of apprentices in cotton mills" was introduced into Parliament by Sir Robert Peel, who was personally cognizant of the conditions.

As early in the infancy of our factory

system as 1841, Dr. Elisha Bartlett, then mayor of Lowell, Massachusetts, thought it necessary to vindicate the character and condition of the females employed in the Lowell mills—which, conversely, suggests the picture of prolonged hours of exhausting labor and the wretched life in boarding-houses. Later in the century, the absorption by the factories of an ever-increasing proportion of child-labor in England, made it necessary to compel the parents by force of law to educate their children by making education compulsory, and regulating the hours of their employment.

Our present inquiry is not whether the prevailing conditions in the industrial classes are better or worse than those in the mid-century, but rather what they are to-day?

At the close of the year 1906, there were upon the registers under the regulations and special rules of the Factory and Workshops act of the United Kingdom, 109,065 factories, and 1,464,124 workshops, excluding men's workshops, docks, warehouses, etc.

The approximate number of persons employed in the factories under inspection was 4,150,000. In laundries 100,000, and in workshops (excluding men's) 700,000.

By the latest returns accessible there were employed in textile factories, 31,744 "half-timers," or children under 14 years of age; 208,000 "full timers," over 14 and under 18 years of age, and 786,631 adults.

It will be observed that of all the employed, the women and children numbered 71 per cent.

The hours of labor in textile factories for women, are between 7 A. M. and 7 P. M. and but 56½ hours weekly.

By persistent effort the hours of child-labor have been reduced from 9 to 6½ hours, and the age raised from 8 to 12 years.

In non-textile and ordinary shops, women are allowed 60 hours a week, with permission to work overtime.

In domestic shops there is and can be

no effective restriction on women's hours, and here, among many others, a problem of great difficulty is presented.

In laundries generally, in which women have an allowance of sixty hours weekly, and where women and children form the great majority of the employés, the sanitary conditions are considered of minor importance; and a humid, superheated and vitiated atmosphere, with excessive hours of labor in disregard of the restrictions, are a source of great danger to the health of those employed.

In some of the public infirmaries it is noted that the women coming from laundries for treatment, double in number those from other occupations.

In the evolution of industries the substitution of steam for hand-power has enormously increased the employment of female and juvenile labor.

Now, in certain industries men are banished, women are demanded, and the demand is supplied—but at the cost of both men and women; for while the former have suffered in wage-earning power, the latter, through the new avenue of employment opened to them, have suffered in moral and physical deterioration.

The industry of women in factories was first brought under the protection of the state by the factory acts of 1844; but the illegal employment of both women and children is, unfortunately, still a common occurrence.

In reference to the employment of married women, Dr. Hughes, medical officer for Fenton, remarks, "Any attempt to combine the offices of child-bearing and bread-winning in one person, must of necessity result in premature births and feeble children."

In 1904 Miss Martindale, a government inspector, found in Belfast alone 13,502 women employed in linen manufactures between the ages of 20 and 45 years, the years of motherhood, and that neglected and delicate children, and dirty and ill-kept homes, are the natural result of the employment of married women."

Of the preponderance of women in textile industries it is noted that in Scotland, in every hundred males from 11 to 12 years of age 34.92 per cent. are at work, and in every hundred females of the same age 65.10 per cent.; the majority being employed in the cotton, flax and hemp industries.—(Scotch census report.) It may also be noted that “in the silk and hosiery mills of Pennsylvania, 72 per cent. of the employés are females; and of these 22 per cent. are under 16 years of age.”—(Annals of Political and Social Science.)

In England, the employment of mothers within four weeks before or after the birth of a child is prohibited by law; a prohibition which is commonly evaded by working up to the day of confinement, as it involves a permanent choice between the factory and the home life, and a consequent loss of wages to the family. Miss Martindale, the female inspector above cited, was surprised at the indifference and carelessness of these mothers.

In Switzerland, by Federal law, women are forbidden to work in factories eight weeks before and after child-birth; in Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Germany and Austria, until four weeks after birth.

The children of employed married women are generally badly cared for, and are degenerating physically and mentally; they are delicate, undersized and short-lived: conditions and a mortality which distinguish the mill operatives of all foreign countries.

Among the “half-timers” in Belfast, many girls of twelve years weigh but 58 pounds, or about three-fourths the normal weight at that age by Stevenson’s tables, or of the school children of Boston, Massachusetts, by the records made by Dr. Bowditch.

A committee on anthropometry appointed by the British Association reported the average stature of boys of 11 to 12 years in the industrial schools to be five inches less than those in the public schools.

Mr. W. W. Ireland reports the average weight of factory children as eighteen

pounds below the English mean at the same age; and the average height of factory children at twelve years, as three inches below the mean normal height.

He also affirms that the average health and strength in Lancashire is much below that in other parts of England, “stammering, squinting, rachitis and scrofula being common.”—(W. W. Ireland, *International Monthly*, volume 1, 1900.)

Dr. Carlier has shown that the greatest average height is found among the most healthy, intelligent and best nourished; and amongst the poor classes, in those who work at healthy trades, and in the open air.”—(*Des Rapports de la taille avec le bien etre. Annales d’Hygiene Publique.*)

Upon the employment of children, Miss Martindale reports that in the counties of Antrim and Down in North Ireland, alone, 13,671, or 27 per cent. of the whole number employed in the textile factories, are children under eighteen years of age, one-third of whom are “half-timers.”

As an indication of the deteriorating effect of the factory life, of the 42,613 children under fourteen years of age examined by the surgeons for certificates of fitness for work, Yorkshire and Lancashire, which includes Leeds, Bradford, Sheffield, Manchester, Liverpool, Salford, Oldham and other less-known towns whose chief industry is cotton manufacturing, and employing in the neighborhood of two million operatives, furnished 61.22 per cent. of the rejections between the ages of 13 and 14, and 37 per cent. of those between 14 and 16 years.

The defectives were about equally divided between the sexes. The medical grounds of rejection being imperfect development, defective eyes and ears, anæmia and uncleanliness. Unfortunately, “there is nothing to prevent a child rejected for factory work from at once finding employment in a workshop.”—(*Great Britain’s Physical Degeneration.*) Dr. Mackenzie, who examined children in the North Canongate school in Edinburgh, found more than half with eyes

so defective as to interfere with their work, and 40 per cent. with defective ears.

Among the evils which operatives suffer in textile factories and which are largely responsible for this deterioration are:

Excessive artificial humidity, impure and poisonous air in weaving and spinning rooms, excessive and also insufficient temperature, dust, fumes and uncleanliness.

These evils are by no means confined to England; even in Massachusetts, where the conditions are superficially considered so perfect, of 93 textile manufacturing establishments comprising several hundred separate mills visited by the State Board of Health in 1906, there were but 19 in which the conditions could be classed as "ideal," but 23 as "good," 35 as "moderately bad," and 16 as "distinctly bad." In the various industries visited and investigated, including those properly classed as "dangerous," they found that very few were "conducted with a satisfactory regard for the health of the working people."—(W. C. Hanson, M. D.)

The report of the board upon the findings in textile factories concludes:

"Finally should be mentioned the monotony of tending the machines day in and day out, the roar and buzz, and the sharp, jerky noise of the machinery which is deafening, and to those particularly sensitive, nerve-racking."

In woolen weaving, warp humidifying is necessary; and is in most instances accomplished by blowing off live steam through various small jets projecting vertically from horizontal pipes eight or ten feet above the floor.

The air is saturated and often superheated. During cold and dry weather the ventilation is closed; and at such times, Mr. Rogers, of Blackburn, in whose district there are 498 weaving-sheds where artificial humidity is produced, reports that in recent tests of the air of three of these sheds, it was found to contain 34.6, 39.6 and 41.6 volumes of carbon dioxide per 1,000 volumes. The

limit of allowance established by the regulations is 9 volumes per 10,000; which is 5 volumes in excess of the ordinary atmosphere.

The danger is increased by the organic impurities which increase *pro rata* with the toxic gas, and by exposure to the change in temperature from the inner to the outer air.

By vote of 94 per cent. of the weavers, this method of humidifying is considered injurious to health. "In these factories," says Dr. Romme (*La Revue, Paris*), "in which workmen are confined to the machines, breathing an atmosphere saturated and superheated—charged with microbes and carbonic acid—with odors coming from perspiring bodies—with toxic gas generated by the decomposition of greasy waste, we found an industrial hell!" *In limbo patrum.*

Beside the twenty-three officially certified dangerous trades and poisonous manufacturing processes, there are many others uncertified; among them the tobacco industry.

In the northeastern division, including Leeds, Bradford and other large manufacturing towns, Mr. Dunolty, a government inspector, finds that carbon dioxide poisoning is undoubtedly prevalent; but the workers appear to avoid bringing their names before the management by reporting illness caused by this poison as tending to prove that they are physically unfit for the work required.

During the year in the United Kingdom, there were reported 632 cases of lead poisoning with 66 deaths, and 66 cases of anthrax, with 42 deaths.

In card, spinning, winding and gassing rooms, Mr. Crabtree reports the temperature sometimes as high as 104 degrees Fahrenheit; on the other hand, some warping and beaming rooms are far below a proper temperature.

"Gas poisoning affects the workers' walk and speech; the latter is impeded, and they have difficulty in forming a sentence without frequently repeating the same word; the eyes are restless, and

there is a marked tremor of the fingers when extended."

Mr. Robinson, of Glasgow, and the Massachusetts Board of Health, agree that the dust-laden atmosphere in which the dust is commonly sufficient to cause a distinct cloudiness, is a serious menace to the health of the operatives.

Mr. Robinson also finds it extremely difficult to convince the occupier or proprietor, that there is any harm in it.

In England, the old difficulty of securing any real maintenance of ventilation, even where means are provided, seems as regards workshops to subsist; and unfortunately, the best methods are often rendered ineffectual by the lack of appreciation of pure air among the operatives who from sheer habit or suspicion, of draught, stop up every ventilating opening."

This inappreciation of pure, and the superstitious dread of night air, is not confined to factory operatives; in the night of September 12, 1900, 2,480 houses of the best, medium and poorest classes were examined in the city of York, England, and only 124, or 5 per cent., found with open windows.

It has been remarked that the ultimate effect of human degradation is to destroy the wish to be delivered from it.

Contraventions of the Factory and Workshops Act by the occupiers or proprietors, are of frequent occurrence, and great difficulty is experienced in keeping them within the law. In 1906 there were issued to them 48,119 notices relating to the non-observance of the rules and regulations, of which 4,650 related to sanitary matters.

Regarding the evils, physical and mental, resulting from these employments, the International Departmental Committee on Physical Degeneration, appointed September 12, 1905, reported "That it was unable to discover any trustworthy evidence of the general or extensive physical degeneration of the population which by some has been supposed to exist." A very obvious and necessary

conclusion as to the population as a whole, as there were no data upon which to base a comparison. The subject of physical degeneration requires examination from two points-of-view: that of the population as a whole, and that of particular classes.

The latter view is recognized by the committee appointed by the London Royal College of Physicians, which reports, "That any investigation which does not take into account the condition of the industrial classes, must necessarily give a very erroneous impression of the condition and physique of those classes."

As to degeneracy in the population of England as a whole, there is, of course, in the absence of conclusive evidence, which it is impossible to obtain, an opportunity for a wide difference of opinion.

From local and class statistics, we are, however, privileged to draw certain conclusions. Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice has publicly declared that "sixty per cent. of the Englishmen wishing to be soldiers, are physically unfit"; and again in the *Contemporary Review*, that "out of every five men who offer themselves for enlistment, only two prove physically fit; the bulk of the men offering belong to the poorer classes of the urban populations." As a further and perhaps more accurate indication of degeneracy, it is stated that of the whole number of recruits inspected for the British army in the ten years ending in 1902, 34.06 per cent. were rejected for physical defects, 444,798 passed and enlisted, 5,849 broke down in three months, and 14,259 were discharged as invalidated within two years of entering the service. An official report of the medical examination of elementary school children concludes "human life in England is being sacrificed to the factory and workshop." A. E. Hudson, president of the conference of sanitary inspectors, declares that, "a great part of our population still dwells in misery and social degradation."

Excessive and monotonous labor, dangerous, nerve-racking and unsanitary employments, overcrowded and unhealthful housing, and poverty, are the primary

causes of this physical deterioration and the accompanying mental atrophy—the hardening of the mind—the loss of alertness and acuteness of observation, and the gradual suppression of all aspiration and initiative. The decline of immigration which has supplied fresh physical and mental vigor and energy, is undoubtedly another important factor in the deterioration of the masses.

Physical and mental degeneration is progressive by inheritance, and as remarked by Professor Karl Pearson, "We are ceasing as a nation to breed intelligence, as we did fifty to a hundred years ago; the mentally better stock in the nation is not reproducing itself at the same rate as it did of old; the less able and the less energetic are more fertile than the better stocks."—(Huxley lecture on "The Laws of Inheritance in Man," 1903.)

It is not a surprising, even if an appalling, fact, that neither pauperism, nor scanty earnings, nor deficiency in that social virtue, thrift, serves as a check upon reproduction.

Regarding the "overcrowding" and "unhealthy housing" evils, it is estimated that some 3,250,000 persons in the British Isles live in overcrowded dwellings—or more than two in a room; and an unforeseen result in the introduction of water and sewerage, has been an increased density of population due to the erection of model tenements, "in which all the physical and moral evils of East London are intensified."—(Bosanquet.)

It has been remarked that, "the home of the mechanic was once the village cottage with its garden; it is now the tenement." A beginning is being made in ameliorating these conditions by various housing experiments—notably by the Co-partnership Tenant Societies, in founding "Garden Villages" easily accessible from the cities. Seventeen of these societies now exist—a few drops in the ocean of necessity—which furnish conveniently-planned and well-built homes on the co-operative plan in excellent sanitary

localities. The necessity for this movement is accentuated in London, where we find 1,344,960 tenements of one to four rooms, and but 347,516 of more than four rooms. The London County Council found in Bethnal Green area, over 2,000 persons living in 750 rooms.

The medical inspectors of the Government Board report that in the Brandon and Byshottles district 27 per cent. of the tenements are two-room. One three-room house had 14 occupants: the father, mother, four sons 6 to 18 years of age, three daughters 24 to 28 years, one visitor, and four small children of the daughters.

Mr. Clement Edwards reports in a part of Wiltshire, "fifteen instances in which more than five persons occupied a small room; ten instances in which there were more than six, eight more than seven, six more than eight, three more than nine, two more than ten, and one in which a family of eleven persons were sleeping in a single room." In the Wickham urban district, of the two-room tenements, 113 had six, 83 had seven, 56 had eight, 15 had nine, 11 had ten, 7 had eleven, and 2, twelve occupants. Of the entire population of Durham and Northumberland counties, 31 per cent. is overcrowded, or living more than two in a room. In North Canongate district of Edinburgh 76 per cent. of the population live in one or two rooms. In England and Wales 8 per cent. of the entire population are living more than two in a room. In Yorkshire county 11 per cent., Lancashire 6 per cent., over the Tyne 30 per cent., in Dudley 17 per cent., Plymouth 20 per cent., Birmingham 10 per cent., London 16.1 per cent., and in some districts 35.2 per cent. In Bradford 19.9 per cent., and in Sheffield 21 per cent.

From 1891 to 1901 the percentage of overcrowding fell from 11.2 per cent. to 8.2 per cent., a result largely due to a diminished birth rate.

Overcrowding, which is recognized as one of the principal causes of vice and disease, especially of tuberculosis, is fol-

lowed by an increase in the death rate and by pauperism.

In the year 1900 it is recorded that 1,774 infants were suffocated by over-laying; and in the ten years ending in 1903, 15,009 infants suffered a similar death. It is also noted, that in the manufacturing towns the death rate is two and one-half times greater than in the rural districts of the same county. It is useless to legislate against this evil until proper accommodation is provided within the means of those who suffer from it. I find that the amount expended in the United Kingdom for poor relief, from 1901 to 1905, increased 15.59 per cent., from £13,873,288 to £16,507,690, while the population for the same period increased but four per cent. In England and Wales the number of paupers in 1901 was 789,689, and in 1905, 915,291; an increase of 15.90 per cent. and in the population of 4.69 per cent.

The poor relief expenditure per capita of the population in Liverpool is 7s. 5½d., Manchester 6s. 9d., York 6s. 8d., London 15s.

As remarked by Ralph Waldo Emerson in "English Traits," "Pauperism incrusts and clogs the state." The city of York, in England, with a population of 78,000, is fairly representative of most of the provincial towns not engaged in the textile industries, and is therefore illustrative of the condition of the average working population. Mr. Rowntree found that families comprising 20,302 persons, equal to 43.4 per cent. of the wage-earning class, and to 27.84 per cent. of the total population of the city, were living in poverty. Two thousand of these being in a chronic state of want.—(*Poverty, a Study of Town Life.*)

In 1904 a Board of Trade investigated the budgets of 261 working families of five persons each, which showed an average weekly balance of 3s. 10½d. over the cost of food and rent, to meet the expenditure for fuel, clothing, traveling and other necessary expenses of two grown persons and three children. In Ridgemont, a

typical agricultural village, twelve miles from Bedford, with a total population of 467, and a working-class population of 390, all employed in agriculture, Mr. P. H. Mann (*Sociological Papers*, 1905) found 160 persons comprising 34.3 per cent. of the total population, and 41 per cent. of the working class, in a condition of "primary poverty," i. e., "poverty caused by an insufficiency of earnings, even when most economically applied, to provide for physical efficiency. If there were more than two children, the family would remain below the poverty line until the eldest child leaves school and begins to contribute to the family support." As remarked by H. Rider Haggard in his study of rural England, "Agriculture and everything that has to do with the land and its products, excite no real interest and receive little practical support."

Sir James Blyth, who has examined the statistics, reports that England pays annually for foreign wheat, butter, poultry, eggs, etc., to say nothing of meat, £80,000,000! or about four pounds per head of the population to seven shillings per head paid by Germany.

That racial vitality is being gradually enfeebled in the urban, factory and workshop population of England, is generally conceded.

Dr. Hall, fifty years practitioner, and some time surgeon of Leeds Hospital for Women and Children, is of the opinion that more than 90 per cent. of English mothers decline to suckle their children, causing inferior development and bodily conditions; and that the want of proper food is the cause of physical degeneration.

Mr. Anderson, chairman of the Health Board of Glasgow, refers to "the iniquitous and unholy waste of life which prevails in all our great centers of industry. The president of the local government board in London in 1906, made the statement that over 100,000 infants under twelve months old, are annually put to death in the United Kingdom—not willingly, but through ignorance and vice."

These conditions are confirmed by the infant death rate, which is maintained, while the general death rate has in recent years been largely reduced. In some parts of England the infant death rate is higher than forty years ago. In England and Wales to-day, it is about 45 per cent. higher than on the Australian continent, and 60 per cent. higher than in Norway. In some districts of London the infant death rate is 184 per 1,000; in Dublin, 200 per 1,000; in one district of Sheffield, 234 per 1,000. Preston, with nearly one-half of its female population occupied, has an average infant death rate for ten years of 236 per 1,000.

The value placed upon infant human life is shown in Huddersfield, where one pound reward was offered by the mayor to any mother whose infant child lived twelve months; which resulted in a reduction of the infantile death rate to 54 per 1,000!

Of the deteriorating influences of urban life Drs. Jones, Strahan, Ireland and other investigators remark, "that the great tension of the nervous system produced by the city life of the day is as baneful as it is unnatural." Dr. Denison is of the opinion that it stimulates the nervous system to such an extreme as to injure the reproductive powers and favor sterility."—(New York *Medical Journal*, December, 1895.)

Professor Pontus Fahlbeck in his review of the English statistics from 1871 to 1900, shows that the increase in population was not due to an increasing natality, but to a decreasing mortality; and that the natality and mortality during this period grew more and more feeble."

Dr. Strahan shows that in the twenty-five years from 1866 to 1891, heart diseases increased 65.9 per cent., nervous diseases 10.2 per cent., kidney diseases 63.4 per cent., diabetes 103.1 per cent., and suicides 24.2 per cent., and that dementia precox, first mentioned in 1878, was previously unknown.

Lunacy has also remarkably increased: on January 1, 1859, the lunatics officially

registered in England numbered 1 to 536 of the population; in 1904, 1 to 293.

In 1906 the Lunacy Commissioners of England report that since 1859 "the rate of increase in lunacy exceeds the rate of increase in the population by 160 per cent.!" The ratio of the insane to the population of New York has risen from 1 in 675 in 1875, to 1 in 294 in 1905.

Dr. Robert Jones, after twenty-five years' practice in the industrial population of London, is "convinced of the deterioration among the lower classes and their issue"; and that "degeneration is more marked than it was twenty-five years ago" ("Physical and Mental Degeneration," *Journal Osc of Arts*, 1904); and "that among children attending schools in London there is an amount of bodily deficiency and a latent degree of disease, which saddens a medical expert, and which must render the sufferers absolutely unfit for the struggle of life."

Dr. Ireland and others speak of the population of Yorkshire and Lancashire as "short of stature, narrow-chested, and with pasty complexions and stooping figures." An inspector reports that Dundee children under present conditions are sinking into a slough of incapacity, poverty and degradation." The importance of these factors in the problem discussed is shown by the fact that the urban population in England numbers more than three-fourths of the total population. In 1901 the percentage of the population living in towns of 100,000 and over, was in England 35 per cent., in Germany 16.2 per cent., and in the United States 18.8 per cent.

The stifling of self-reliance, self-respect, intelligence, ambition and progress, and a general weakening of the faculties from lack of use, is the untoward and unfortunate result of the conditions in the textile and parallel industries.

The mentally mechanizing influence of machinery is recognized by the English inspectors, and by all others who have made the factory system a subject of observation or study. "The machine,"

says Allen Clarke, "in its wonderful development has become almost human; while the human tenders have almost become machines."—(*Effects of the Factory System.*) "Skilled labor," J. E. Thorold Rogers declares, "is replaced by the mere overseer of machines; the effect of machinery is to reduce labor to the function of attendance and guidance."—(*Six Centuries of Work and Wages.*) This influence is also recognized by the ordinary employer: Mrs. Van Vorst records her experience. "I applied for work as a 'hand worker'; he looked at me and gave me an answer which exactly coincided with my theory—he said, 'If you do hand work, you will have to use your mind.'"—(*The Woman Who Toils.*)

The combined effect of the factory system upon mind and body is outlined in *The Workers*. We read, "Life in its present course is to most of us a miserable bondage. We work daily to physical exhaustion, and with no power left for mental effort our minds yield to the play of any chance diversion until they lose the power of serious attention. In what constitutes the work of life, there is no pleasure, no education, no evolution of our better natures."—(W. A. Wyckoff.)

Mr. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, testified before the Industrial Commission: "I have no doubt that the specialist worker employed for a long series of years in doing a small part in the operation of a machine, suffered physically and mentally because of the monotony to which he is subjected."

Mr. Mosely, of the Mosely Educational Commission, in his address before the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education, said, "To-day there is dawning upon us the question, whether it is wise to allow a man to become merely a machine?" Mr. F. P. Fish, president of the American Telegraph and Telephone Company, in his address to the same body, remarked, "Our automatic machinery tends to minimize the intelligence that is necessary on the part of the

individual workman; his absorption in a particular line of work prevents the development of the all-round capacity that is required in an advanced employment."

From this and similar testimony, it will appear that in itself the factory system is powerless in training men to be its directing forces; and that such training now devolves upon the higher technical schools at home and abroad.

Professor Armstrong, of the Mosely Educational Commission, outlines the influence of machinery upon American life and character.

As one of the results of his observation he remarks: "The conditions in America have always been such as to develop enterprise and to stimulate individuality and invention; such being the case, it is important to remember that some at least of these influences are now withdrawn, and development may be along different lines in the future; especially, as the enervating influence of machinery is coming into play more and more."

This modern classification of the factory operative is now being recognized in legislation. In 1898 the French Chamber of Deputies accepted a bill introducing the concept of professional risk by which "accidents to operatives are to be looked upon by the employer in very much the same light as accidents to machinery; and constituting one of the risks of the trade."—(*Commentaire de la loi du 9 Avril.*) This concept was recently recognized in the Workman's Compensation Act of England.

In the consideration of the great material progress of the last fifty years, by Sir Robert Giffen (*Economic Inquiries and Studies*) and others, a progress which is readily admitted—we observe the same neglect to recognize the physical and mental evils resulting from the increased demands made upon some of the important factors in this progress which is apparent in the treatment of degeneration. It is true that wages are higher, food generally cheaper, and that the general death rate has been decreased by im-

proved sanitation, and viability correspondingly increased. *Au contraire*, we must note that a higher standard of living and increased expenditure in all directions in disproportion to the earning capacity naturally follows any improvement in material conditions and precedes and causes the necessity and demand for increase of wages, which at the moment, in England, is, however, but a small portion of the increased cost of living. By that inexorable law of trade which demands the greatest efficiency for the least expenditure of money or time, the age limit of the worker at which his efficiency is diminished and comparatively unprofitable, is being gradually lowered by the conditions of his employment over which he has no control; a limit at which he may be capable of *good work*, but not equally *capable of quick work*, the working age is growing *shorter*, and the average duration of life *longer*.

This limit of the employment of skilled labor is being reduced by the great manufacturing and transportation corporations to 35 or 40 years; which is equivalent to an average earning period of twenty years. The maximum earning period of engineers in England is now 20 years; of iron and steel workers 16 years, and of railroad signal men 15 years.

Of these conditions Mr. Spender remarks, "After early middle age the decline of earning capacity sets in, to continue with increasing rapidity until the competition of the young, compels him to abandon all hope of earning a regular wage; in short, the tendency of modern industry is against the elderly and the aged."—(*The State and Pensions in Old Age*, J. A. Spender.)

Having reached the age limit under the conditions resulting from the extreme demands, and division of labor and the deteriorating influences of machinery and its environments, the workers with their families, in comparative poverty, without a trade, continuous employment, or any certain means of support, are now compelled to begin life anew.

Mr. Samuel Gompers, above cited, testified: "In two decades our workers have been specialized to do a small part of some business, and they know very little of the general industry or trade."

The Massachusetts Committee on the Unemployed in 1895 reported, "The shoemaker of a generation ago was an independent artisan, aiding himself with his tools; the worker of to-day has become merely an adjunct to some machine—a mere step in a great mechanical process."

In England, elderly men who in the prime of life earned 30 to 35 shillings, now earn but 18 shillings weekly, and are dependent upon their children or the poor law for the family maintenance.

And here we are brought to face a problem which in importance to the working-man, to society and the state, far surpasses in vital interest all others in the labor calendar, and in the eugenic field is of serious concern, *viz.*: How in the prevailing conditions is an ever-increasing tide of pauperism to be stayed which in England has already reached enormous proportions, is increasing, and which threatens here?

Mr. Burns makes the "startling and deplorable" estimate that 25 per cent. of the total working-class population of England and Wales over 65 years of age are dependent upon the poor law. It is asserted that the struggles of a large number of the remainder to keep clear of the law, would be equally startling.

A factor in the decrease of employment and the increase of poverty frequently overlooked, is brought out in the Massachusetts report above cited, *viz.*: "That the introduction and improvements of labor-saving machinery, together with the incidental saving of labor due to the specialization of work, and the consequent increased efficiency of the individual workman, have in twelve years, in some departments, resulted in a reduction of from 25 to 30 per cent. in the number employed." In England, in 1837, the number of operatives per 1,000 spindles was *seven*; in 1887, *three!*

Before the era of machinery the skilled workman had his trade for support in his declining years, and was able to make a comfortable provision for his family; now, without a trade, the only opportunity for him to create a fund of savings to draw upon in times of emergency or in old age is in the few years before marriage: after marriage, it is, with a family, practically impossible.

"The destiny of a pauper old age does not exclusively await the idle, thriftless or drunken; it is the common lot for the most part of whole sections of the laboring population."—(Mr. Henry Broadhurst, M.P., Report on Old-Age Pensions.) In the conditions described it is apparent that the insouciance, independence and simplicity, which in the fanciful philosophy of William James, are the heritage of poverty but denied to the wealthy, are likely to become the unrecognized, unappreciated and unhappy possession of ever-growing millions.

At the moment the only apparent, but partial solutions of the problem, are presented in coöperation and self-help, by Friendly and Benefit Societies (to which in some of our American states contributions are prohibited by law), in trade unions—and participation in the profits—or by a system of compulsory insurance as enforced in Germany and Austria, or by voluntary insurance, as in Sweden, Italy, France and Belgium, or in a state pension system as maintained in New Zealand and Denmark, and probably soon to be adopted in England, or in a return to the cultivation of the land individually or collectively. General Booth and Rider Haggard agree in the opinions that "to prevent the migration to the town, and the congestion there, the only remedy is property *in* or *on* the land." In the city the people are dying for work, and in the country the land is dying for labor. The existing conditions not unnaturally suggest to the unemployed wage-earning class, the drastic program of the *soi-disant* Socialists, or Revolutionists, as they sometimes designate themselves. A

program which includes old-age pensions for every person over fifty years of age, a minimum wage law, a maximum of forty-eight hours working week, out-of-work payment, increased taxation of unearned incomes, nationalization of land, free primary, secondary and university education, with maintenance while at school or university, and a collective, democratically-managed organization of industries; and in default of these demands—revolution and anarchy.

An echo of these demands is heard in the resolutions recently adopted in a convention of the unemployed held in St. Louis.

Singularly, the attitude of the Friendly Societies of England toward state intervention was at one time that of strong hostility, alleging that "it would sap the independence of the working classes and cause unfair competition with the Friendly Societies."

In the industrial centers of our own country we fortunately have not yet reached the conditions existing in England or on the continent; but the tendency is inevitably in the same general direction.

As an indication of this trend the legislature of the state of Massachusetts, which stands first in the production of textiles as a whole, and employs a larger number in its factories than in any other industry, at its last session appointed a commission of five persons "to report upon the advisability of establishing an old-age insurance or pension system." At a recent meeting, the American Federation of Labor appointed a committee to consider the same subject.

For the optimistic opinions regarding the happy influences of the factory system occasionally expressed in this country, "that machinery is constantly lifting men out of low into high grades of employment, and constantly surrounding them with an intellectual atmosphere," that the factory, whether in this country or in England, means education, enlightenment, and an intellectual development utterly

impossible without it to a class of people who could not reach these things in any other way" (Carroll D. Wright, Catholic University *Bulletin*, volume 7, 1901), I find no support in the official reports of the English factory inspectors, or in the majority of contemporary opinions at home or abroad.

The weight of evidence given indicates that the factory system as at present conducted, does not "create skilled and intelligent workmen"—affords no opportunity for "intellectual development or educational acquirement" and is powerless in training men to be its directing forces.

That the great concentration of labor in crowded and unsanitary conditions results in lower standards of life and morals, an increased morbidity and a higher death rate.

That the confinement to the machine and its necessary environment results in the physical and mental deterioration of all employed, especially of women and children.

That the limitation of age, and the ignorance of a trade, tend to the increase of pauperism and dependence.

That the unemployed deteriorate and become the unemployable.

That the unrest and prevailing discontent is the result of the painfulness of the struggle for existence, superinduced by the displacement of labor caused by the general introduction and great productive power of machinery, by the realization of an actual condition, increased by the knowledge that relief is slow in arriving, if not unattainable.

The conditions as outlined furnish additional evidence that environment is the architect of heredity, and abundant data for the bases of new, or the illustration of old theories of evolution—for various suggestions regarding racial improvement by artificial selection—for the more drastic control and treatment of the habitual criminal, and the sterilization of the mentally and physically degenerate—for selection through marriage—for the control of marriage by law upon a due

consideration of the characters and circumstances, without the parties having any choice in the matter as suggested by Dr. Samuel Johnson in 1776—for the revival of the practice of Asclepius, regarding the constitutionally diseased and intemperate, outlined in Plato's *Republic*; and based upon the theory that his art was not meant for persons of that sort, and that it was wrong to attempt their cure, a practice approved by some in our own time. Finally—

The increase of poverty in excess of population, and in the number of the unemployed

The decline in the general birth-rate and of fecundity in the upper classes.

The multiplication of inferior stocks.

The supercession of the craftsman.

The decadence of agriculture.

The increase of alcoholism, especially among women of the working class.

The decline of immigration and increase in emigration of the physically strong and perfect, naturally resulting in a decline in the marriage and birth rates, point to a "lower level of development" or deterioration, and "a lowered level of the hereditary possibilities of such development" or a degeneration, in the population of the United Kingdom which is incidental if not general, and which may, or may not, be permanent.

At the moment in England, and in the Kingdom at large, which has taught and leads the world in textile and other industries, the harvest in the eugenic field is not promising, and the industrial classes are apparently a negative factor.

In working, efficiency and the application of science and in the development of her own discoveries she is being outstripped. The English are no longer a rural, but an urban people.

That the masses are not thriving physically in the cities is only too apparent, and as has been remarked, the present conditions may be the result of over-prosperity in the past, from which we in America may draw some useful practical lessons.

Thomas Carlyle in his *Latter Day*

Pamphlets in 1850, inveighed against these industrial, social, moral and physical conditions, but was impotent in suggesting any practical solution of the problems; and to-day they are apparently no nearer solution than when described to Miss Bromley in 1870. "Alas! it is above thirty years since I started the

condition of England question as well worthy of consideration, but was met with nothing but angry howls and radical Ha! Ha! and here the said question is still untouched, and ten times more unmanageable than then!"

GEORGE R. STETSON.

Washington, District of Columbia.

## "WHY RACE-SUICIDE WITH ADVANCING CIVILIZATION?" A SYMPOSIUM.

BY REV. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, ROSE PASTOR STOKES, HELEN CAMPBELL  
AND JOSEPH LORREN.

[Note: In the December ARENA Rabbi Solomon Schindler noted the diminishing birth-rate in America and other leading civilized lands in a highly suggestive paper. In this issue four well-known leaders of the conscience thought of the Republic discuss the question suggested by the Rabbi. Helen Campbell is one of the best known and most popular writers on social and economic problems in America. Rev. John Haynes Holmes is the courageous and brilliant pastor of the Church of the Messiah of New York; and Rose Pastor Stokes is a leading lecturer, writer and worker in the interests of social advance among the group of intellectually brilliant and morally enthusiastic Americans who are carrying on an effective propaganda very similar to that being furthered in England by the Fabian Society. A fourth paper is by a brilliant and thoughtful Hebrew lawyer of Boston, who for personal reasons prefers to use a *nom de plume*. His paper is unique and marked by that originality that stimulates thought. It will be noted that these writers are not in harmony with the shallow alarmists that seem to imagine that breeding is the chief end of a people, and who apparently are far more concerned with the number of children born into the land than with the quality of the lives called into existence and the environment during their plastic years. The subject is a timely one and the thought of these writers is richly worth the consideration of all earnest men and women.—THE EDITOR OF THE ARENA.]

### I.

I BELIEVE that Rabbi Schindler's question: "Why race-suicide with advancing civilization?" can most certainly be answered, and this on the basis of the very facts which he himself submits in his statement. He points out most aptly the wonderful advances which have been made in this western part of the

world in the case of the "child." He points out that "the clumsy midwife has been replaced by the skilled physician"; that "hospitals for children abound"; that "the kindergarten, the school, the vacation school, the playground supervised by an expert," are freely offered in every community; that "clubs of all descriptions supply the social needs of the growing child"; that "societies for the prevention of cruelty to children are numerous"; that "child-labor is regulated by law and prohibited up to the age of fourteen or fifteen years," etc. And what do all these things mean, if not that our Western civilization has at last awakened to the fact that no effort can safely be spared toward making it possible for every child born into the world to enjoy sound physical health, adequate mental and moral training and sure industrial opportunity? What do they mean, if not that society has come to recognize that its own security, if not its sentiments of justice and mercy, demands that no child shall be neglected or abused or exploited; and that if poor parents cannot or will not furnish adequate protection from neglect, abuse or exploitation, the state must? These facts mean, in short, that after long years of gross stupidity, to say nothing of cruelty, we are

beginning to understand that the conception, bearing and rearing of a child involve the most serious and solemn of responsibilities, and that these responsibilities, however lightly assumed, must be seriously and solemnly discharged.

This being the case, it is apparent, is it not, why race-suicide is in this age a universal accompaniment of advancing civilization. To-day as never before in human history men and women are declining to assume the responsibilities of parentage which they know they cannot discharge. It is significant that it is the upper and the more cultured, and therefore the more self-conscious and self-controlled, portion of the community which is failing to perpetuate itself, and not by any means the lower, more ignorant and more impulsive portion. To-day the average member of this upper or superior class is unwilling to bring a boy or girl into the world who cannot be given the advantages of the best physical and mental training, and thus so prepared for life's battle that success is assured. "I propose that my boy shall have a better start than I had"; "I could not go to college, but my child shall"—these are the expressions which are heard wherever the raising of a family is under discussion showing that latent in the hearts of the more serious, sober and earnest members of society is the conscious determination not to produce more children than can be safely and adequately reared. A certain indication of a high level of individual culture and self-mastery is the ability to "count the cost"—to live not merely for to-day but also for to-morrow—to see not only the present but the future; and it is the men and women who have reached this level who are responsible, generally from the best of motives, for that race-suicide which is so commonly deplored.

Thus considered, the tendency toward decreasing the birth-rate is wholly understandable and commendable. But is this all? Does not this conclusion at once raise the further question: Why is it necessary for people to commit race-

suicide in order to live in decent comfort and obtain a fair share of opportunity? "I can't have but one or two children," says the hard-working, intelligent man of the great middle class, "because I can't afford any more. If I have a larger family than I have at present, I shall have to deny to all my children the advantages which I can give to the one or two—advantages which every child ought to have and which I propose they shall have." This is a common statement. But what are we to think, I ask, of a social condition which forces a man of average ability, average intelligence and average industry to make deliberate choice between a smaller family (or perhaps no family) and poverty? Here we come right down to the stupendously tragic fact of our day and generation: that, in an age of unexampled material prosperity and practically inexhaustible material resources—in an age unparalleled in history for its accumulation of wealth, life is still, for the great masses of the people, so expensive an operation as to make prohibitive the rearing of a good-sized family. Here, in an age which, as Professor Patten points out, in his *New Basis of Civilization*, is no longer an age of "deficit," but of "surplus," an age in which there is enough and to spare of the world's goods to keep every living soul in comfort and plenty, the favored few, by some inexcusable and iniquitous mal-adjustment of our social systems, obtain practically everything and the many nothing. Here, in a country which is literally flowing with that "milk and honey" which seemed too impossible of practical realization to the ancient seer that he pictured it as one of the perfect conditions of heaven, you and I must deny ourselves the joys of parentage, lest we and our children starve. The truth of the matter is, as Mr. H. G. Wells points out in his *New Worlds for Old*, that "parentage which rightly undertaken is a service as well as a duty to the world," is actually penalized by our existing social system, and the parent hopelessly handicapped in our

remorselessly competitive struggle for existence. "The plain fact is," as he says, "that the better middle-class parents serve the state in this matter of child-rearing, the less is their reward, the less is their security, the greater their toil and anxiety. Is it any wonder, then, that throughout this more comfortable but more refined and exacting class, the skilled artisan and middle class, there goes on something even more disastrous from the point-of-view of the state than the squalor, despair and neglect of the lower levels, and that is a very evident strike against parentage? While the very poor continue to have children who die or grow up undersized, crippled or half-civilized, the middle class, which *can* contrive, with a struggle and sacrifice, to rear fairly well-grown and well-equipped offspring, which has a conscience for the well-being and happiness of the young, manifests a diminishing spirit for parentage, its families fall to four, to three, to two, and in an increasing number of instances there are no children at all."

Here, it seems to me, in this question of race-suicide, as in every other social question of our day and generation, we come right down to the question of the cost of living, which opens up the deeper question of the distribution of wealth, which in turn opens up the deepest question of all—the wisdom and justice of our existing social system. Here in this question of race-suicide we have simply one of that multitude of problems which are threatening the very permanency of our civilization and which can find no solution until society makes up its mind to see that justice is done. By what method justice shall be done, men must for long have the widest differences of opinion; but the important thing at the present moment, it seems to me, is to awaken society to a consciousness of existing injustice and to inspire it with a determination to act.

I rejoice, therefore, that the Rabbi has raised this perplexing question for discussion. It is but one of the many symp-

toms of the disease which has fastened upon the social organism. To discuss this symptom is, as I have just illustrated above, to be led to the discussion of the disease; to discuss the disease is to be led to the discussion of the cure; to discuss the cure is to take the first step towards health. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

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## II.

A great deal has been written and said about race-suicide by those who deprecate the prevailing tendency toward small families. It has come to be supposed by a good many people that the deliberate restriction of the birth-rate is a very vicious thing, and that those participating in such restriction are guilty of a heinous crime.

Public attention has been so centered upon this aspect of the question that another, and in the opinion of the writer, a more serious aspect of the question, has been completely ignored in most current discussions of the subject. I refer to the appalling destruction of life and equally appalling impairment of racial vigor due to the heartless grind of our modern industrial system.

Three-quarters of a million people die each year in the United States from causes other than old age; and the large majority of these deaths are due to the fact that nearly the entire working class of our country are precluded from the possibility of self-support except under conditions destructive of health and vigor. The conditions of employment to-day are determined with little regard for the welfare of the workers, but almost wholly with the view of obtaining the greatest possible amount of private profit for their employers.

If we were to add to the tale of physical destruction due to the present harsh and needlessly cruel struggle for existence, the tale of those who, through inability to live decently in this land of plenty, sink into the mire of despondency and despair and become vicious and depraved; and

of those who, driven by desperate want to "steal" their neighbors' goods, pass through penal institutions to a life of habitual crime; and of those in the great army of the unemployed who, unprofitable to private owners of industry, deprived of opportunity for home life and the rearing of families, sink low in the scale of human worth; and, if we were to add to these the tale of Society-as-a-Whole, inevitably leveled down by its neglected, vitiated elements, it would be seen that race-suicide, under present industrial conditions, proceeds at an appalling pace not merely on the *physical* plane, but on the *moral* plane as well.

And who would say that race-quality is less important than race-quantity?

Furthermore, let us consider the hundreds of thousands of women rendered unfit for motherhood by the infirmities due to excessive hours of labor under conditions least conducive to physical health though most conducive to unearned incomes; add also the long list of those women who, forced by a starvation wage, sell their bodies under circumstances that make motherhood and the rearing of children impossible.

Recently an intimate friend of the writer was told by a merchant prince of Chicago that his department store in that city had netted him approximately one million dollars a year for the previous ten years; yet hundreds of his girl employés were receiving wages so small as to render decent self-support impossible. Hundreds of thousands of girls, working under similar conditions, throughout the country, are thus forced into lives of shame. If it be a sin for one mother to limit the birth-rate by a few children, what should be said of one such employer of women?

Race-suicide, indeed! If it be a crime against the race to prevent children being born into the world, how infinitely more criminal it is to destroy children after they are born! The very term "suicide" denotes destruction of life, not merely its prevention.

If we would check race-suicide we must

check the grinding of little children into profits; the killing of little infants through unavoidable neglect by parents too heavily burdened by an industrial oligarchy; the thrusting of young girls and women into the abyss, and the destruction of life and limb of the adult workers of our country under this ruthless, anarchistic struggle for unearned wealth.

It may readily be seen by those who study our social problems and their causes, that our present system of industry, under which wealth is produced not primarily for social use but for private gain, is responsible for an immeasurably greater amount of race-suicide than any other factor; is, in fact, the basic cause of race-suicide, both as regards quality and quantity; and that such destruction is wrought most widely, not among those parents who deliberately restrict the birth-rate, but among those helpless victims of our industrial system who are either denied opportunities for family life, or who, having large families, cannot rear their children to manhood and womanhood; and who are themselves prematurely exhausted, and sink to early graves.

If we would effectually check race-suicide, we must first study those laws and other institutions of our country which "justify" the destruction of the millions, body and soul, that the few may revel in unearned wealth; and we must so modify or completely change these laws and other institutions as to render them operative for the material and moral welfare of *all* the people rather than, as now, in the material interests of the few.

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### III.

To hold at once the place of agitator for better and always better conditions, not alone for the child but for struggling humanity as a whole, yet with a deep-seated optimism—a certainty that all, even at its worst, is working toward right and order and a better day, is not the contradiction it might seem. The advantage

of passing the Osler limit by many years is that a lengthening perspective gives not only the dark spots in the story of both past and present, but the steady background of a light slowly making its way, and clearer with each year—the source of what we are beginning to know as "social consciousness." A very old book long ago put it, "No man liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself," and we are learning this better and better day by day.

Thus it is that it is quite possible to accept each and every statement in Rabbi Schindler's series of questions, and yet feel assured that the lessening birth-rate means, on one side at least, a growing sense of responsibility to the child. Selfishness, the increase of artificial and chiefly unwholesome methods of life, an entirely false standard of living, and ambition—these are the facts, and increasingly so for a large majority; but they do not, however, affect the underlying forces that are making a new world for the child, the most defective parents being thereby gradually educated in spite of themselves.

The Puritan family held up to us as an ideal was often a dozen or more, a fact of immense importance in a new country where every child meant a fresh pair of arms for plough or distaff. But one who studies old New England graveyards, on whose crumbling stones may still be seen the staid Puritan names of the three or even four or more wives sacrificed to bring about this plenitude of helpers, realizes the absolute blank of any real understanding of the question. In fact, under the prevailing faith any question would have been impossible. Children were of God. Blessed was the man who had his quiver full of them. Children in plenty, but not for one of them what we know as childhood to-day. Nor could it be for those early generations in the new land, stern and unyielding as its owners; daily life a battle with all natural forces, and hardships endured and made light of. The same conditions enforced to-day even for the poorest would raise a howl of indignation.

Slowly, how slowly, has dawned the thought that something more than mere numbers is the need of the family. Man found out long ago what laws must be studied and carried out in breeding for the highest results in animal life; the brood mare or other animal rested and skilfully fed. For the woman, such thought never entered the mind of either husband or wife. The formula, "God wills it," lifted the burden of responsibility for defectives, or diseased, deformed or crippled children. Later, "moral education" societies went to the other extreme, their rigid formulations leaving no place for the love that can also hold law; the child born under such formulæ a rather bloodless product, never to realize life at its fullest and noblest.

In short, in the transition time mistakes of all orders gradually brought knowledge of the real needs of the child, and while one must still reckon with the army whose point-of-view is even now a purely selfish one, there is another army, filled as never before with the sense of what true parentage may mean. Not even the mad push for place, for more and more money, more and more personal ease, has had power to turn aside these deeper currents of life, a great and swelling tide, the "power that makes for righteousness." The new thought, not only of the child's rights, but of the right of the human being everywhere, is working out hourly for human betterment. Even our most difficult problem, the mass of ignorance and often of disease dumped upon our shores, is handled with more and more hearty conviction that from this great crucible in America, in which all nations are blending, will result a product born of the noblest, most progressive thought for the saving and uplifting of humanity at large.

"Fewer and better" is not even now a death-knell for the state. It is at once a study of past and present, and a promise of the larger life to come. The very most so-called fatal tendencies, the increase of degenerates of all orders, is simply another spur to profound and

effective study of causes, and no age has known so extraordinary advance in the deeper knowledge that will abolish the causes for the evils upon us. "Preventive medicine," we are just learning, is the only medicine required. "Prevention is better than cure." A little farther on the chief source of disease and crime and outrage, the tenement house, will have become an impossibility. The education that will abolish this horror—that is already beginning to do so, will accomplish its work, making more and better room for the child and the life that unfolds from the child. "Fewer and better" has its own mission, till the day comes when a trained motherhood and fatherhood will ensure to the state an order of citizens for whom that war-cry is no longer needed. The old phrase, "God's will," is to fill with new meaning. God's will and man's more and more one with every step forward in the knowledge of what life was meant to bring to every child of man. Race-suicide is a passing phase, a necessary one, till the lesson is learned; but it will be learned, and the future holds no fear, but a certain trust that only good and always more good is before us.

HELEN CAMPBELL.

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#### IV.

American thought has been enriched of late by two classical answers to two classical questions. At the famous Cooper Union speech of William H. Taft, the first classical question was propounded. It came full-throated out of the mouths of the people: "Why *enforced* idleness in our Land of Plenty?" and the classical answer of our President-elect was "God knows!" The second classical question was propounded by Theodore Roosevelt: "Why race-suicide?" and the answer of the American people was, "God knows." In the first place the people asked and the President answered; in the second place the President asked and the people answered, but in both cases the answer was "God knows; we do n't."

In THE ARENA for December that profound thinker and thought-stimulator, Solomon Schindler, whom we who know him dearly love to call Socrates Schindler, has propounded the second question once more. But unlike the platitudinous sledge-hammer questionings of our ubiquitous President, Dr. Schindler has thrown his question in a mould that pricks our gray matter at a thousand points. As I understand it, he neither asks for a cure, nor demands a brief of the defenders of the small family. His question is, "How is it that children are not wanted in the very countries that do all that science, humanity and philanthropy can suggest to raise the human plant, and that they prosper and appear in large numbers where nothing is done for them and all odds are against them?" At first this question took the wind out of my mental sails, and I was about to give the classical answer, "God knows," when I remembered that it was "God helps those who help themselves—to think."

My attempt to answer Dr. Schindler's question is not even an attempt at a full and correlated answer. I merely jot down several tendencies which, I believe, play a part in the depression of the birth-rate with the advance of civilization, in the humble hope that others, following the train of some of these thoughts will be helped to evolve an apodictic answer.

Some of the reasons for the concomitant decrease in the number of children to a family with the advance of civilization—race-suicide or race-selection—pick your choice of names—seem to be as follows.

(1) One may answer the entire question by denying its premises. Although I agree with my friend, the doctor, that the number of children per family decreases with the advance of civilization, *childhood* unquestionably increases with civilization. In mere number of children born to the family, savagery outruns civilization; in the units of childhood to the family, civilization outruns savagery. Let

me try to make my position clear. I maintain that as a practical matter we have a larger number of children per family in a state of higher civilization than we have in a state of lower civilization. We know that with the advance of civilization goes the *prolongation* of infancy; that the more uncivilized a state the human lives in, the less in years is the childhood life. The Indian papoose becomes a full-fledged man (by man I mean here the independence of the human from the support of his parents) as soon as he reaches his tenth year, while the present age of dependency of childhood of the high-class American is nearer twenty-five years than it is twenty years. Thus we see that in the matter of dependency, the American parent who has one child has in childhood units two and one-half children, as compared to the child unit of the Indian. Moreover, we find that the savage Indian parent gives very little of his time to his offspring while in the childhood state, while the American parent not only prolongs the infancy of his child, but he intensifies it by his zealous abandonment of himself to his child; so if it were possible to weigh childhood as we weigh butter, by the unit, it would appear that a child of the higher class American is equal to perhaps six or seven children of the savage. Thus the answer to the question is that although in the mere number of children born, the savage is ahead of his civilized brother; in the child unit of entire child measurement the civilized races are ahead, far ahead, of the savage. In other words, the answer to "Why race-suicide in America," is "There is no race-suicide in America."

(2) The second line of thought also leads us inevitably to the answer, "There is no race-suicide." Although I agree with the doctor that the number of children born to savage parents are in excess—far in excess—of the number of children born in our civilized state, I believe that the doctor will agree with me that in the savage state, due to the very loose paren-

tal bond, and to the absence of medical and economic knowledge, the children die off in a far greater ratio than do the children of American parents, so that although the savage family gives birth to a larger number of children, his children do not survive childhood in the same ratio as the civilized child.

(3) The Doctor painted vividly to us the paradise in which the civilized child, especially the civilized child of poor parents, live in this country. Is it not possible that this very paradise is the very effect and also the cause of the lessening of our birth-rate? It is generally true that paradise can be enjoyed only by the elect. The very paradise of kindergartens, schools, vacation schools, playgrounds, hospitals, and all other concomitants of civilization are the effect (and also the cause) of a decreasing birth-rate. Is it not true that if we had as large a birth-rate as the savage, and could succeed as we do to-day to rear him to manhood, that the child would not have the paradise in which he now lives, and the Doctor's question would lose its force? Civilization is regulated by a system of checks and balances. The welfare of the child depends upon his numbers. All these hospitals, schools and other child-enrichening institutions of civilization have become necessities in our American life, and the support of them have become necessities of the American people. To enrich the lives of those children whose parents are not able materially to help them, the supporters of these institutions are, because of this very support, driven to a suppression of their own birth-rate. As civilization advances the luxuries of yesterday become the necessities of to-day. The luxuries of one thousand dollars a year become the necessities of two thousand dollars a year. And perhaps one of the most necessary of all these necessities of advancing civilization is the necessity of helping our less fortunate neighbors. The uplifting and upholding of our child-enrichening institutions has become one of our national necessities. With an

increase of our necessities goes an inevitable decrease of our birth-rate. With an increase of our necessities goes the decrease of our luxury margin. Marriage depends on our luxury-margin—therefore with the whittling down of our luxury-margin comes a thinning of our marriages, and the increase of late marriage with its necessary decrease in the number of births to the union.

(5) With the advance of civilization comes the advance of woman. From a slave, and a hewer of wood and carrier of water, and a mere child-bearer, she steps along the highway of modern life until she reaches a state of absolute, material and social independence of the male, which in its turn makes for celibacy. She enters with alacrity into the professions and industry, and in the struggle and strain of modern life her desire for marriage decreases, both from the social and sexual standpoint. Added to this we must take into consideration the tendency of higher education upon marriage—especially on its sexual side.

(6) There is, however, another cause,

psychological in its way, which tends to exhilarate a force set in motion by innumerable causes, some of which have been jotted down above. We are in the midst of a great mental epidemic, and we follow the paths of human nature which makes a fashion of necessity. In the haze of history, the Chinese were conquered, and as a mark of submission and of inferiority to their captors, their heads were shaven and a hair-sprout was left on top of the cranium. At first they fumed and were much ashamed, but as time softens all things, in due fulness of time they forgot the significance of the pigtail, and to-day it is a mark of fashion and even of religion. Because civilization sets in motion its innumerable forces for birth suppression, in time, the human accepts it as a necessity, which in turn becomes a fashion. With the acceptance of small families as a fashion in America, come the natural adoption and exhilaration of the idea of child suppression. Janus-faced, the Effect has become the Cause.

JOSEPH LORRENS.

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## PROSTITUTION AS A SOCIAL PROBLEM.

BY THEODORE SCHROEDER.

LIKE every other social problem, prostitution may be scanned from two conflicting view-points, namely: the religious and the secular (or scientific). Unfortunately very few people have any clear idea as to what is the essential difference between these two attitudes of mind, and to most persons it has never even occurred to ask if there might be a difference in the resultant moral code. Briefly, to state this difference, as I see it, and to suggest some of its results in attempting a solution of the problem of prostitution is the motive for this essay.

In the most generally accepted Chris-

tian aspect, the problem of prostitution is but a fraction of the larger problems of religious activity, and resolves itself into a sub-division of theology. According to this view all prostitution, like all other sexuality without ceremonial sanctification, is judged by *a priori*, emotional methods, to be *per se* immoral because it is believed to be prohibited by God. In the scientific aspect the morality of conduct is judged only by its direct effect upon others. Hence it follows that no isolated act of prostitution can be judged as *per se* immoral, and the varying consequence of a multitude of such acts require

diversity of moral judgments, according to their respective ascertained and material effects and each relative to its alternative possibility.

Judged by religious standards of morals the evils of prostitution are usually measured by the violence it does to the religious feelings, and the consequent intensity of the emotions of aversion, which indiscriminately indict all (even indirect) participants without any pretense at balancing the relative social utility and inutility of segregated acts, or of the system. In the antithetical, scientific aspect the emotional aversion and moral sentimentalizing count for nothing, and the moral estimate of the act is determined by its direct and ascertained consequence upon persons who are immature, deceived, unintentional, or unintelligent participants therein.

These differences of view-point lead unavoidably to very different conceptions as to what constitutes the essence of the problem presented by the phenomena of prostitution. In the religious aspect the essence of the evil lies in the disobedience of accepted "divine command," and the loss of soul-salvation. The problem is best being studied from the religionist view-point, by inquiry as to how most effectively to secure obedience to theological "morality," and to attain soul-salvation for the devotees to prostitution.

In the scientific aspect the essence of the evil lies in actual material evil (physiological) consequences and the problem is one of discovering and removing secular (economics, hereditary or social) causes, and tracing the physiological and hereditary, evil, social consequences. In this aspect all religious, or *a priori*, moral codes, theologies, and soul-interests are disregarded. The sociologist concerns himself almost wholly with hygienic, prophylactic and educational methods for securing betterment, through an enlightened self-interest, and improving economic conditions and the victim's industrial efficiency. The religionist, from the necessities imposed by his moral code, for improved conditions relies chiefly upon

the brutalities of moralization by force, or its alternative of a hypocritical pretense of unconsciousness. With religious "morality" a secular state can have nothing to do without destroying its secular character. The sociologist, as an individual may sometimes find religion a helpful short-cut to the conduct he wishes to impose, if he can bring himself to making the appeal to superstitious fears as a coercive force, where he lacks the capacity, or patience, requisite to succeed by the scientific method. But every time that he does this he retards the achievement of that ultimate ethical ideal in which none will need to be coerced because all will have so broad and perfect a conception of human interdependence, as to find their own highest and noblest self-interest to be served by intelligently insisting upon the maintenance of those conditions which will insure to every one else the equal opportunity of promoting his same self-interest. If a scientist should thus abandon the scientific method of studying and treating the problem of prostitution, it must be because he sees no difference between the person who is good because in jail or afraid of hell-fire, and the one who is good from an absence of all desire to do evil, and intelligent enough to avoid it. For such a pseudoscientist the church deceptively seems to produce good results by false methods. The more truly scientific spirit, it seems to me, will induce more zeal towards securing the conditions which will develop the more perfect man, rather than devotion toward securing coerced perfection of conduct from undeveloped and degenerate humans without bettering the man or the environing conditions which conduce to make him a criminal.

From these diverse attitudes of mind toward prostitution as a problem there also comes a corresponding difference in the attitude towards the prostitute herself. To the theologian she is, at the same time, an object of awe, of hate and rarely of pity. While he would like to see her converted, probably because he considers this

the only efficient means of her reform, he cares but little about her reform without conversion, except as it may be a first step to that end. On the other hand, the sociologist, purely as a sociologist, cares nothing for her conversion and everything for the cessation of her harmful practices. The theologian more often hates her as the emissary of the devil who, through fleshly passion, tempts men to ruin, primarily their souls and secondarily their bodies. The sociologist cares only for the physical man. Where the pious "moralist" hopes for her only as he does for Satan's surrender to the power and righteousness of his God, until surrender takes place, usually, he must hate her with all the intensity of a fable-demon. The sociologist, on the other hand, hates her not at all, but views her as a symptom of disorder in our social organism, a victim of hard conditions which are to be removed, and he studies her with the same dispassion that would possess him in working out a problem of mathematics.

Through our daily journals we often—too often—read the hysterical and insane overvaluation of the sinfulness of unsanctified sensuality, and the corresponding righteous vituperation of heartless cruelty and savage barbarity with which pious people quite generally denounce the courtesan. The scientist has neither use nor respect for this "morality" of defective intellects and diseased nerves.

When I hear, or read, the passionate outbursts of a pulpитеer's maledictions which usually comes when such attempt to deal with the problem of unauthorized sexuality, it always seems to me that these must be the quacks of reform who dwell in the borderland of emotional insanity. So vehement have been their unreasoned onslaughts that they have submerged and obscured all efforts at dealing rationally with the prostitute and her problem. Those who have attempted to deal with these sanely and scientifically have been buried under such an avalanche of piousity and righteous vituperation as to deter almost every one from examining such

presentation of the question, or attempting a like study of it. The sexual tinkers of theological cast of mind have so infected the public mind with their prudery that all must at least profess to shun not only the evil of prostitution, but the very knowledge of its existence, which is an essential precedent to a rational consideration of the problem.

After hearing the "moral" rant from the pulpits of quack reformers I like the relief which comes from re-reading the following compassionate statement of W. H. H. Lecky, the historian and moralist:

"There has arisen in society a figure which is certainly the most mournful, and in some respects the most awful, upon which the eye of the moralist can dwell. That unhappy being whose very name is a shame to speak; who counterfeits with a cold heart the transports of affection, and submits herself as the passive instrument of lust; who is scorned and insulted as the vilest of her sex, and doomed, for the most part, to disease and abject wretchedness and an early death, appears in every age as the perpetual symbol of the degradation and the sinfulness of man. Herself the supreme type of vice, she is ultimately the most efficient guardian of virtue. But for her, the unchallenged purity of countless happy homes would be polluted, and not a few who, in the pride of their untempted chastity, think of her with an indignant shudder, would have known the agony of remorse and of despair. On that one degraded and ignoble form are concentrated the passions that might have filled the world with shame. She remains while creeds and civilizations rise and fall, the eternal priestess of humanity, blasted for the sins of people."

Of course, the causes of prostitution are numerous. Chief among these is the economic cause which means not only low wages in general, but a wage discrimination against women and a lingering prejudice against their economic equality and independence, which compels them to

look to men for at least partial support, and the making of a return therefor. The thrifty shop-keeper and bargain-hunter soon learn to take advantage of a situation which enables women, by prostituting themselves for a partial livelihood, to accept merely nominal wages as a method of concealing their real means of support.

It seems to me that other provocatives to prostitution come from our irrational marriage ideals and social customs. The latter, especially in the middle, and the more conservative portion of the prosperous classes, so hedge about the social intercourse of young people, as to form a pernicious impediment to the development of that natural affection which leads to marriage. Another such impediment is the financial requirement of "society" in the culturine set. Another most efficient means of encouraging the business of the prostitute is those social ideals and statute laws which prevent divorce and the remarriage of persons who are no longer held together by the natural ties, which alone should bind. It is not to be reasonably expected that persons thus situated will allow a mere abstract respect for laws and customs that are easily evaded, to stand in the way of conduct in accordance with a natural impulse, especially when it is not apparent, at least upon a superficial view, that such conduct necessarily injures any one. Even a voluntary celibacy has produced much havoc in the world, and compulsory celibacy only intensifies the evil.

This branch of the subject is so important and so much underestimated or overlooked, that I am impelled to emphasize it by a few quotations from eminent authorities. In *The Outlook* for June, 1907, Judge E. Ray Stevens has this to say: "By refusing to grant a legal separation we can wipe out divorce entirely, but this will not change human nature nor make homes ideal. In some extreme cases, if the law does not give relief, the dagger will perform the function of the divorce decree. When Justinian sought

to stem the rising tide of divorce by somewhat radical reforms, poisonings and other attempts on life among married people became so common that his successors abolished these reforms. The countries that prohibit divorce are not exceptional for social purity. . . . During the twenty years covered by the Federal divorce report, 14,247 divorces were granted for adultery alone by the New York courts. In the state having the second largest population (Pennsylvania) eleven causes for absolute divorce were recognized, and during the same twenty years 16,020 absolute divorces were granted—only 1,773 more than New York granted for adultery alone. Chancellor Kent, after a long career on the bench of New York, stated that he believed that sometimes adultery was committed for the very purpose of obtaining a divorce because it could be secured on no other ground.

"In South Carolina, outside of the days of reconstruction, the legislature has refused to grant an absolute divorce itself, or to empower the courts to grant such decree. Aside from the presumption that this policy would have been changed if not satisfactory to the people, one can find little that commends it.

"Turning to the laws and decisions of the courts of that state, we find evidences of an unusual social condition. This is the only state, so far as I have been able to ascertain, that has found it necessary to regulate by law the proportion of his property which a married man may give the woman with whom he has been living in violation of law. As late as 1899, the courts were called on to apply this law in order to protect the rights of the wedded wife and her children, in a case in which it appeared that both the husband and the wife had been living in adultery since the separation.

"Evidently this is not an uncommon condition in that state, for Justice Nott, speaking for the Supreme Court of South Carolina, said: 'In this country, where divorces are not allowed for any cause

whatever, we sometimes see men of excellent character unfortunate in their marriages, and virtuous women abandoned or driven away homeless by their husbands, who would be doomed to celibacy and solitude if they did not form connections which the law does not allow, and who make excellent husbands and virtuous wives still.'

"President Woolsey some years ago, speaking of South Carolina, said: 'The white wife has often to endure the infidelity of her husband as something inevitable which no law could remedy and which public opinion did not severely rebuke.'

Montaigne once wrote: "We have thought to make our marriage tie stronger by taking away all means of dissolving it; but the more we have tightened the constraint so much the more have we relaxed and detracted from the bond of will and affection."\* Such conditions of unreasoned restraint upon divorce are responsible for the very general belief that houses of prostitution find their main financial support from discontented, mismated married men, and not from the unmarried.

In dealing with the curtailment of the evil consequences of prostitution we always come up against the same impenetrable wall of unreason and superstition. To produce hysterical manifestations of moral sentimentalizing, in an audience of average religionists, it is only necessary to mention a few possible practical means and ends in dealing with this problem.

It has been suggested that segregation and publicity will lessen the contamination and enticement, especially of the young, and thus curtail the actual number engaged in prostitution. General instruction in personal prophylaxis against venereal infection, in all probability would lessen the spread of disease. It is claimed that public inspection and licensing would also limit the spread of "the great black plague." These have been suggested as

partial remedies. Their value I am not prepared to pass upon nor at this time to discuss. I call attention to them only for the purpose of saying that the righteous vituperation and hysterical moral cant and a prurient prudery has thus far prevented the general public from even knowing the facts and arguments advanced by the advocates of these measures of relief, nor has the public anything like an intelligent opinion concerning any phase of these subjects.

It is this that I desire to protest against. Everywhere and always I wish to write myself down as the foe of the "moral" sentimentalism of the quack reformers with diseased nerves, who uniformly oppose scientific intelligence as a means of sex-reform, and rely upon moralization by force, directed by the ignorant, who know only the theology of sex.

I know a brave little woman who has thought somewhat upon these questions. Sometime since she wrote a very practical letter to a philanthropist, interested in this problem. This letter seems to me to contain some excellent suggestions. Indeed they seem so simple and practical as to be beyond the comprehension of ordinary professional reformers or those who are philanthropists for fame only. Indeed, these suggestions seem to me too good to be lost in a rich man's voluminous letter-file, so I have asked permission to copy the material portion and with her words, slightly revised, I will close this essay:

"Men who wish to do a practical good for those persons now on earth, and others who will come here before the millenium, must direct their efforts to reducing the evil consequences rather than the causes of prostitution.

"It is in the interest of such a movement that I write to you. The chief evils, it seems to me, are the spread of venereal infection, and the inability of those who are victims of the system to get out of it, because of their incapacity for self-support by any other acceptable service. Thinking upon these matters it has seemed to me that the most practical thing to do

\**Essays*, vol. 11, p. 15, here requoted from Letourneau's *The Evolution of Marriage*, p. 358.

would be to establish a sort of educational hospital, where no effort at moral sermonizing would be indulged, but where a woman afflicted with venereal disease might receive medical treatment and housing, thus removing the temptation to spread disease, and at the same time, either while living there for treatment, or even while working at her trade outside, give her an opportunity to come and learn how to do some useful work, so that all of these women may so increase their industrial efficiency that they are not compelled to remain in their degrading business, when it ceases to please them.

"From my point-of-view, the chief defect of the present rescue home lies in the fact that it does absolutely nothing to improve the mind or industrial efficiency of the women who come to it; and secondly the atmosphere of these establishments is too often saturated with repulsive moral sentimentalizing which oozes from weeping and praying missionaries, so that no prostitute except in the last extremity of despair will ever go near them, nor submit to their indignities.

"It has seemed to me that such an institution as I have suggested, devoted to a practical helpfulness, which is not a mere incident to 'soul-saving,' might even be made partially self-supporting from the money of the prostitutes themselves by inviting them to make regular monthly or weekly contributions on the basis of which they are entitled to enter the home when diseased, upon their agreeing merely to receive while there, instruction in some trade. In the matter of contributions to the support of this home I have in mind a plan akin to that of laboring men's assessment for hospital privileges.

"Sometimes I have been tempted to try to establish such an industrial school for unfortunate and diseased women, myself assuming the duties of manager, but it has always seemed too difficult to get money for anything so practical as not to appeal to the religious zealot whose only desire is for spiritual missionary work."

To these words of my friend I say "Amen." **THEODORE SCHROEDER.**  
*Cos Cob, Connecticut.*

## ERRORS OF THE ENEMY.

BY C. A. G. JACKSON.

IT MAY be true, as some of the opponents of Socialism claim, that no two Socialists agree on an exact definition of the aims and purposes of their system, but it is also true that the fundamental principles of Socialism are known and agreed upon, and those who oppose it ought at least to state fairly such fundamentals as are not matter of dispute.

There is a surprising amount of ignorance regarding Socialism, a general misconception of its aims and purposes, often coupled with a desire to misrepresent. So long as this misrepresentation succeeds in creating a misconception in the

popular mind it may serve to prevent men from incurring criticism by openly avowing themselves Socialists, but it will not prevent the spread of Socialist belief.

One of the grossest misstatements of Socialism that has recently come to notice is contained in a plank of the Republican party in the late campaign. It may perhaps be pardoned as something designed for temporary effect, intended to catch votes, but it ought to be exposed. This is the misstatement:

"The trend of Democracy is toward Socialism, while the Republican party stands for wise and regulated individual-

ism. Socialism would destroy wealth. Republicanism would prevent its abuse. Socialism would give to each an equal right to take. Republicanism would give to each an equal right to earn. Socialism would offer an equality of possession which would soon leave no one anything to possess. Republicanism would give equality of opportunity which would assure to each his share of a constantly increasing sum of possessions. In line with this tendency the Democratic party to-day believes in government ownership while the Republican party believes in government regulation. Ultimately the Democratic party would have the nation own the people while the Republican party would have the people own the nation."

Holding no brief for the Democratic party I shall not undertake a defense that would be useless now that the campaign has ended; but the statement of the aims of Socialism is so absurdly wrong that it deserves to be exposed lest it create further misunderstanding, and when its errors are noted the strength of this finely-worded bit of antithesis is destroyed.

"Socialism would destroy wealth."

Either ignorance or malevolence penned that statement. Socialism makes no war on wealth. If one were disposed to discuss the question of the right of wealth to exist in private ownership he would find stronger denunciations in the writings of the early Christian fathers than in all the works on Socialism. Indeed, it is questionable if the Socialist attacks on wealth that have been made referred to wealth as such. Socialism is engaged in a war on capital, and capital must be distinguished from wealth. There is an economic difference. The wealth that finds expression in mansions, carriages, yachts, automobiles, books, paintings and tapestries, while it may have been unjustly acquired, is not oppressive or injurious as is the wealth actively employed in production—capital—which controls the lives of those whom it employs and satisfies its

greed from those who consume its products. It is wealth converted into capital, not wealth in general, that Socialism finds dangerous; but even this it does not seek to destroy. It would convert it from private, dangerous, into public, beneficent, capital.

"Socialism would give to each an equal right to take."

To take what? What he has helped to create? The real producer does not have an equal chance now. Not until various tolls have been levied and satisfied does the real producer now get his share. Before Socialism would give any one an equal right to take it would be assured that he has helped to make. It would insist that "If any will not work neither shall he eat." Socialism concerns itself as much with production as with distribution, as any system of political economy must; it is not communism, not a scheme for dividing everything equally, but for regulating industry equitably.

"Socialism would offer an equality of possession which would soon leave no one anything to possess."

That is near the climax of absurdity. Division does not mean destruction. Property will not disappear, though divided. Perishable property will perish even if kept intact. Permanent property, houses, lands and so forth, will remain, even though divided and subdivided. But Socialism does not contemplate any such division.

As for the antithetical statement: "Republicanism would give equality of opportunity which would assure to each his share of a constantly increasing sum of possessions"—the answer is a question: "Why has it not done so?" The great demand of Socialism is for equality of opportunity.

"Ultimately Democracy (Socialism) would have the nation own the people."

For "nation" we must read "government." The brilliant framer of the platform is tautological or confused. The nation is the people and the people are the

nation. In making this statement he has again shown his ignorance of what Socialism is. When he refers to the government owning the people he has the idea of government that prevails among the so-called upper classes, an agency apart from the people, ruling them, not obeying them—a European, not an American, system of government. He further confutes his own earlier assertion, for if property is divided it will be owned by the people individually, not collectively—by individuals, not by the government. So far as Socialism would acquire collective ownership it would be for purposes of control, not ownership for its own sake, for purposes of administration rather than possession and power.

As this platform was written for partisan, special, temporary purposes, we can afford to believe that the misstatements were made knowingly, intentionally, not through ignorance. But what shall we say of a distinguished educator who talks of Socialism with as little regard for truth? Shall we consider him ignorant or malicious? Chancellor McCracken of the University of New York, returning from abroad last spring, gave this statement to the papers:

"If King Haakon were not a king," he said, referring to his meeting with the ruler of Norway, "he would make a good professor of political economy. He understands the subject thoroughly. The king knows that Socialism is increasing and he recognizes the fact openly.

"He told me that he went among some workmen who were known to be Socialists and asked them if they were in favor of a division of wealth. They said they were. 'Then let us appoint Friday at noontime for a division of wealth,' the king said to them.

"All right," answered the men.

"But hold," said the king. "At five minutes after twelve o'clock many babies will be born. They will be entitled to their share of the wealth. Shall we make another division then and another every five minutes?"

"The king did n't get an answer to that question, so his opposition to Socialism was not checked."

It is interesting to note that in the opinion of Chancellor McCracken utter ignorance of so widespread a doctrine as Socialism is a qualification for a chair of political economy. It is a surprising fact that men of intelligence and position in considering this subject of Socialism dismiss it with an incorrect assumption and a sneer at that assumption. Political economy, so called, is not a science and often deals with half-truths, but one may be pardoned a feeling of surprise at the way so eminent a man as Chancellor McCracken deals with the matter. A man in his position ought to be willing to learn and to teach the truth, but he seems to be pridefully ignorant.

There are candid and able opponents of Socialism, but the smaller foes either do not know what Socialism is or cannot answer its arguments, so they content themselves with a sneer and a false assertion. A sneer is not an argument, nor a lie, nor a refutation. The leaders of Socialistic thought have been men worthy the attention of thinking men and have received that attention. It is the unthinking and ignorant among their opponents whose utterances most readily and frequently reach the public.

Lest it should be thought that too much attention is here paid to offhand utterances, a platform designed for partisan and temporary purposes and a newspaper interview, perhaps given without any notice or preparation, let us turn to a more serious attempt to state something regarding Socialism. Mr. Henry Wood has achieved some repute as a writer of books on natural law, and has written one on *The Political Economy of Natural Law*. The following is from his chapter on "Socialism as a Political System":

"With human nature as it is, how many would be provident, industrious or economical under the most perfect system of Socialism yet conceived? Enterprise, ambition, invention and progress would all

wither as under the shade of the deadly upas. If an ideal millenium had come upon the earth so that men loved others more than themselves there would be true moral Socialism from within; but *until such a time civil law and government will be indispensable.*"

Perhaps Mr. Wood's knowledge of natural law may be judged from his reference to the exploded story of the deadly upas tree. There is a curious inconsistency in arguing that Socialism, which is most frequently attacked as involving too large an extension of the powers of government, which would necessarily mean an extension of government activities, would destroy civil law and government. The things Mr. Wood says Socialism would destroy are the very things it would enlarge and amplify. No Socialist desires the destruction of government unless it be some foreigners who call themselves Socialists and are really Anarchists, for the idea of Socialism without government is a contradiction in terms.

Here is a further quotation from Mr. Wood, as unfortunate as the previous one:

"The genius of Socialism seems to be embodied in the old adage that 'the world owes every man a living.' No matter how lazy, improvident or reckless he may be, his industrious neighbor, who by patient toil has become the owner of accumulated labor, is expected to divide with him and, in future, to keep on dividing."

One might be led from this to believe that the founders of Socialism were the "lazy, improvident or reckless," but they were not. They were among the best and strongest men of their time. They were not desirous of division and future division, and their followers are not.

There are plenty of the "lazy, improvident or reckless" who, misled by such statements as Mr. Wood makes, may declare themselves Socialists in the false hope of gaining in the division he promises, and thus throw discredit on the system they profess to believe. The ignorant Socialist is as much an injury to the cause as its ignorant opponent.

If Socialism has any value as a theory of political economy it will have its chance to prove its worth. It is idle to say that the ultimate of human government has been reached, that we, "the heirs of all the ages in the foremost files of time," shall leave nothing better to our descendants than we received from our fathers. Mankind has never been content and never will be content. The struggle for freedom and equality, the struggle Socialism now represents, has been the primal cause of all the advance the world has made. We have progressed through individualism, tribalism, slavery, feudalism to capitalism, and he has studied man's history to small advantage who believes that progress ends here. Every development of government to-day, every step in improving the condition of humanity is in the direction of Socialism, not because of Socialism as a theory, but because the principles of Socialism afford the best solution of the concrete problems that present themselves. Whether the present progress toward Socialism will continue or whether some other and better theory will be presented is to be seen, but the present progress toward Socialism will not be stayed by ignorant or malicious attempts to deceive people as to its real meaning and purpose.

C. A. G. JACKSON.  
*Montpelier, Vermont.*

## TAN-BARK.

BY REV. ELIOT WHITE, A.M.

**I**N A RAMSHACKLE, fire-trap tenement of New York's East Side I visited a little boy ill with typhoid.

Groping through the halls dark and grimy as coal-pockets, I passed a sinister door where "policy" gaming was reported to flourish,

Lurking for the pennies of the poor at their very thresholds, like a tarantula under green fruit stinging the first hand thrust into its den.

I found the child upstairs crimson as a peony with the fever, but uncomplaining except to speak of his throbbing headache.

He had pinned to the sofa above his head some celluloid buttons that he wore when well, bearing trivial mottoes that here somehow took on a pathetic dignity.

Outside, the rattle of wagons over the broken pavement, and the raucous street-cries, made the little patient wince as though cut,

But ah, these were more like balm compared to the sudden inferno of clamor that now burst forth for his torture!—

A woman's strident voice from the stairs near the door vented such profane scurrility on some one who had mocked her,

That the very glass in the crippled transom seemed to chatter, and the sick boy stared with the amazement of the drowning.

Hastening out I confronted a tipsy harridan with dishonored gray locks straggling over her face, who clashed a beer-can against the banisters,

Like some horrible menadic accompaniment of cymbals to the witch-chant of her shrill blasphemy.

My appeals to her to have pity on the suffering boy but added fuel to the flame of her wrath, as I might have foreseen.

Were you thinking that the Russian revolutionists have cause to be rebels against social conditions and those who prop them, but Americans have no such cause?

Would your resentment at the needless woe of such a sick child, and of ten thousand others like him, have been appeased simply by his going to the haven of a hospital the next day?—

Or would you have felt it shame to take the contrast as a matter of course, when in the elegant residence-district uptown you found tan-bark spread thick over the street,

And you knew this meant that some one—another child perhaps—was ill in one of these houses, and must have the very pavement muffled for his comfort?

In imagination you could see the quiet, skilful nurses ministering to every whispered wish, and losing no opportunity to reduce the fever and fortify the cherished body with delicate and costly nourishment.

You did not grudge one benefit, or device for ease and healing, to the child of wealth, but you mightily vowed you would die on some invisible barricade of revolt,

Sooner than accept the smug plea that social inequalities such as involved what you saw the tenement child endure, are grounded in the constitution of God's world.

As I thought again and again of the reddish-brown, pungent-smelling quilt laid over the rough granite bed of the street, with such consideration for sensitive nerves,

I found it assuming the aspect of a symbol—suggesting all the expensive and clever contrivances that cushion the impact of distress on refined ears,

And hush the rasp and din of anguish that cries from a hundred city slums for no more exorbitant boon than justice.  
 Yet even now like a new Herakles or Iphigenia, a man or woman here and there rises from the couch of social invalidism,  
 Crying, "I will hear and see truth!"—and to the chagrin of companions to whom such quixotic venture seems sheer treason,  
 He girds himself to twelve modern labors for his kin who had been beyond his pale, and she to a sacrifice of service, undeterred by the knife of ridicule, as dauntlessly as her Greek sister long ago.

ELIOT WHITE.

*Worcester, Massachusetts.*

## THE EDITOR'S QUIET HOUR.

### THE PENDING CONFLICT BETWEEN THE IDEALISM OF THE NAZ-ARENE AND THE MATERIALISM OF CÆSAR.

"Art for art's sake may be very fine, but art for progress is finer still. To dream of castles in Spain is well; to dream of Utopia is better."

"To construct the people! Principles combined with science, all possible quantity of the absolute introduced by degrees into the fact, Utopia treated successively by every mode of realization—by political economy, by philosophy, by physics, by chemistry, by dynamics, by logic, by art; union gradually replacing antagonism, and unity replacing union.

"And at the summit the ideal.  
 The ideal!—the stable type of ever-moving progress."

—William Shakespeare, by VICTOR HUGO.

TO THE modern philosophic student of history who views life from the standpoint of idealism, certain great faith-inspiring facts present themselves which declare by unmistakable implication that the sunrise is before and not behind the human race. They come to the truth-seeker who with his God-given reason as a lamp fearlessly pursues the pathway of scientific research, as bugle notes of victory from those who have marched in the van.

Thus, for example, the modern seeker after truth, while accepting the revelations of science and critical research, which frighten the timid and the ignorant, beholds that the long and toilsome journey humanity has made since the first man faced the heavens with a question and a prayer, has been an upward course. He knows that our historic record of the race constitutes but a fraction of the story of its

ascent; that the long way has been marked by upward and downward movements, victories and defeats. There have been valleys of death and quicksands that have swallowed up many peoples, but the general course of life has been upward; the key-note has been growth—development born of experience and the upward strivings of a soul bearing the Divine Light within its sanctuary. Here at every turn has been a groping toward light, a rising from the lower to the higher, and the broadening of the horizon at every waiting stage. Here has been a continual unfoldment of new worlds in the microcosm of man no less than in the macrocosm of the universe. Continents of truth, subjective and objective, have been discovered.

Nor is this all. The idealistic student of history, if he view life in its broader aspects, cannot fail to be impressed with the fact that he is in the presence of a wonderful, orderly, law-directed universe throbbing with unfolding life that speaks not only of a Cosmic Mind, but of progression toward some great and glorious goal. He is not blind to the fact that races, civilizations and nations have their periods of retrogression; that to them, indeed, are opened the pathways which lead to life and to death; and furthermore he sees the highway of history is strewn with the wrecks of civilizations and of peoples who have elected to follow the broad road of sensuous life and self-desire. But on the other hand he notes

the fact that peoples and nations who have come after them, have learned something of the inexorable law of life, so that the general sweep of humanity is upward. And even in hours of national depression, when moral idealism seems at a low ebb, the philosophic student is able to sing with the poet:

"Yet sometimes glimpses on my sight,  
Through present wrong, the eternal right;  
And step by step, since time began,  
I see the steady gain of man."

Another fact that impresses him is that the same battles have to be fought and won in different stages of man's upward advance. One illustration will afford a hint of this truth. For long ages man was under the dominance of the physical. His creature comforts, his appetites, desires and passions were the dominating factors in his life; and even after many of his fellow-men rose to higher concepts, the master-spirits who represented or embodied the controlling thought of their races, lands or nations depended on physical weapons and prowess for victory. Take our civilization as a striking example. In the Middle Ages, and, indeed, up to the dawn of the democratic era, we find the masses wrapped in intellectual ignorance, while the masters were men who depended on the sword of force. The serfs supplied them with the creature comforts obtained from the storehouses of nature, and their retainers fought the battles of their masters against other warriors who under the compulsion of lust for power, gold or the gratification of physical appetites, strove to crush their neighbors. The people were kept in ignorance, oppressed and maltreated, through the weapons of physical force. It was the age in which brute strength was the master-note.

Then came the Renaissance and the Reformation. A wonderful wave of intellectualism swept the world, shotted with the gold of idealism. But the spiritual element was subordinated to the egoistic forces. Here, it is true, was the gray dawn, but it was only the prophecy of a coming day. Out of this wonderful awakening, that gave to Italy the most glorious summer-time of art known to the planet; to the lands north of the Alpine peninsula an even more wonderful intellectual renaissance, in which moral idealism and the scientific or truth-seeking spirit were markedly present; and to the countries west of Italy the *wanderlust* or searching spirit which drove the ships of Columbus to America, those of Vasco

da Gama around the Cape of Good Hope to India, and which led Magellan's vessels to circumnavigate the globe—we say, out of this period of awakening came in the fulness of time the great democratic epoch that illuminated two worlds and lifted nations to a higher plane of consciousness than they had attained before. But here it was the egoistic intellectualism that won over the altruistic impulses or moral idealism that so largely dominated the master-spirits of the democratic era; and here we find the old battle for mastership by the few, the struggle of the would-be despots to gain control of the masses, but not now, as of old, by brawn or physical weapons, but rather by intellectual cunning or mental prowess. It is no longer the feudalism of force or the exquisite tortures of a Spanish Inquisition that have to be met, but other forces of evil and oppression, more subtle, less apparent to the superficial eye or sense perceptions, but none the less deadly in their influence. Let us glance at three phases of this aggressive evil which now confronts Christian civilization and which is distinctly retrogressive in spirit.

The great evolutionary scientific discoveries which shattered the temple of superstition seemed for a time to the more shallow friends and foes of religion to imperil the spiritual foundations and render illusive the eternal moral verities. Yet this view, which is always present when great new truths are flashed upon the consciousness of the way-showers of humanity, merely threatened that which was false in the old. But certain philosophers, whose visions were more centered on sense perceptions than spiritual verities, were quick to promulgate a materialistic philosophy, and others have striven to elaborate in the realms of letters and art the pessimism and cynicism that are the inescapable companions of an egoistic and faithless intellectualism. This pessimism and cynical doubt born of a crass materialism is one of the master evils to be combatted by the philosopher, poet and dramatist. Out of this condition of faithlessness has arisen a new feudalism—that of the market, as thoroughly materialistic and cynical as it is self-deluded and Pharisaic, and withal quite as heartless as the feudalism based on physical force. But the new form of despotism is confined chiefly to the intellectual domain. Craft and cunning are its master weapons, while lawyers rather than knights are its most faithful retainers.

A third evil that goes hand in hand with cynical pessimism and arrogant commercial feudalism manifests itself in the department of law or the machinery of so-called justice, in such a way as to subvert the ends of righteousness. We have not, it is true, the rack, the thumbscrew or other instruments of torture that went hand in hand with the older despotism based on arbitrary authority and the feudalism of force, but the spirit or actuating motives are the same, though the plane of conflict and the weapons have been changed.

To recognize the nature of an evil is much, and this recognition is not only forcing itself upon the consciousness of the noblest minds of the age, but already the leaders in the advance of ethics, art and letters are ranging themselves on the side of civilization in what will prove the greatest conflict of the ages—the battle between egoism and altruism, the warfare between the idealism of the Nazarene and the materialism of Cæsar.

It is indeed a wonderful privilege to live in a great crucial moment like the present, if one is wise enough and great enough to apprehend the nature of the conflict and the awful responsibilities that are placed on every individual, and strong enough to resolutely put all thought of self aside and take a stand for altruism. The age in which we live is a winnowing moment in time, aptly described by Lowell when he wrote:

"Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide,  
In the strife of Truth with Falsehood, for the good  
or evil side;  
Some great cause, God's new Messiah, offering  
each the bloom or blight,  
Parts the goats upon the left hand, and the sheep  
upon the right,  
And the choice goes by forever 'twixt that darkness  
and that light.

"Then to side with Truth is noble when we share  
her wretched crust,  
Ere her cause bring fame and profit, and 't is prosper-  
ous to be just;  
Then it is the brave man chooses, while the coward  
stands aside,  
Doubting in his abject spirit, till his Lord is cruci-  
fied,  
And the multitude make virtue of the faith they had  
denied."

Life is always serious to those who even dimly recognize its solemn responsibilities; but in great crucial periods, when the very existence of nation or civilization hangs in the balance, the responsibility that rests on every unit in the social organism becomes tenfold

greater than during waiting periods. Then, as never before, life becomes august. Its potentialities are too great to be measured, and its opportunities for good are beyond words to describe. Then no man, be he ever so obscure, is quit of doing his full duty. No man can be a cipher; all can be potent factors for progress. But it is on the men of genius and imagination, the leaders in the realms of thought, art and life, that the gravest responsibilities fall. Happily for the cause of civilization, leaders are coming to the front. There is noticeable on every hand, side by side with the ranging of certain clergymen and churches under the banner of the Mammon of Unrighteousness, the gathering together of the apostles of the religion of the Nazarene and the prophets of social progress on the side of the people. In social and economic domains many leaders are also boldly taking their stand with the friends of justice and fundamental democracy. In poetry there are signs of life. Edwin Markham in the New World leads the altruistic advance. In the drama, as we have already noted, there is being manifested a truly wonderful ethical awakening which touches in a fundamental way the great social, economic and political problems of the hour; while of late many works have appeared from profoundly philosophical brains that cannot fail to make a deep impress on leaders and moulder of thought. *The Economy of Happiness*, by James MacKaye, is such a notable work, and in Dr. G. C. Mars' masterly philosophical volume, *An Interpretation of Life*, we find this new note clearly and forcibly sounded.

Dr. Mars shows what was the ideal of the American and French revolutions in the dawning hour of the democratic era, which was dominated by the ideal of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. The dream of the founders, however, has been far from realized, and this author clearly points out that at our best we are as yet but in a transition stage, battling with reactionary forces that must be met and overcome before the triumph of popular rule will be signaled. The great undercurrent of civilization, however, is bearing us toward the true democratic ideal, or the Golden Age for all the people.

A few extracts from this luminous discussion of social, political and economic problems in this truly great work will show our readers how foremost philosophical thinkers are ranging themselves on the side of progress in the great struggle now being waged between ego-

ism and altruism. In considering the ideal that animated the master-spirits among the leaders of America and France, Dr. Mars says:

"In the French and American republics, government, it was declared, must be based on the consent of the governed, and must mean liberty, equality and fraternity for all; and, since men are born free and equal, they possess those inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, in accordance with which doctrine, the character of all laws must be determined.

"The state organized on this basis, in its formal claims, at any rate, approaches for the first time in history, the ideal of the Kingdom of God on earth, in which the sacred rights of every individual man, as man, is acknowledged and made the ground of all laws, which themselves express the moral life of the whole social body. The individual's obligation to the state is as absolute as of old, but the state now is based on the individual. The individual is no longer suppressed by the state, but realized in the state; and the state thus ceasing to be a mere mechanism of law, becomes a living organism of ethical principles in which every individual finds his place of service, and his own highest personal realization. St. Paul symbolized this noble conception for the church, in the body of Christ. For the state, this symbol means a social condition in which the individual no longer stands over against the state, as a subject, but becomes an integral part of it, and thus one with it; or in which the state no longer dominates the individual, but expresses itself in and through him.

"Nor is this principle of individual right restricted to the citizens in a state, but is slowly being applied to the nations. Since the days of Grotius, and with the developments of rapid communication, international law has become more definite and universal in its application. In spite of the natural and deep-seated national selfishness, which unfortunately obtains, the great nations unite variously in concerted action not only to protect themselves, but to support some fundamental principle of right which is meant to secure justice for all; and, indeed, their interests have come into such close contact, the world over, that no nation, however weak and insignificant or however strong and aggressive, can now be said to be without the bounds of a moral protection or control. Such protection and control by no means reaches the ideal, but it grows with a growing world-opinion, in favor

of international justice and peace, and toward the solidarity of the race.

"But, while this principle of universal justice among individual citizens of the nation and between individual nations of the world is generally recognized, it by no means stands for the end of moral development in history. It is but a transitional stage in man's moral evolution that moves toward the supreme and ultimate goal. It is the acceptance, but not the fulfilment, of the Kingdom of God on earth. It has, indeed, risen above the primitive, external, patriarchal authority on the plane of sense, to the intelligible realm of the understanding where, by rational codes of law and civil constitutions, all are justly to fare alike; it has made the individual rather than the state the center of human government, and has transformed the last figment of sovereignty, in the divine authority of kings, into the divine authority of the sovereign people; but it has not yet worked out the germinant principle that lies implicit in it, because its fraternity, liberty and equality are still effectuated by external instruments of law and justice. Justice, as we have already seen, however desirable and necessary as a stage of progress, is, after all, an equilibrium of selfish interests, and represents only an external form of moral development. It is that altruism that does good to others for the sake of the self. To bring moral development to its full outcome, already foreshadowed in the primitive affection of the family, it must be transformed into the deeper law of goodness within. And this transformation is rendered possible by reason of the freedom secured to the individual, through a universal justice. For it is now wholly within the individual that the transformation is to take place. The primitive affection of the family, as an outstreaming good-will to others, must be widened to include all men, and the self must thus find its realization, by enfolding within its interests, the interests of all other selves. The ethical consciousness can only thus reach its final goal, upon the plane of rational intuition, where it recognizes that the true nature of the moral will is universal love.

"In his search for the ultimate ground of ethics, the great Kant, by reason of his pause upon the plane of the understanding, just failed to make clear the distinction between the law of justice and the law of love. His 'categorical imperative,' as an objective law of moral action, was universal enough: Let

every act be such as to follow a rule, capable of universal application—but it missed the true intuitional motive of the will. It made the moral life a hard bond-service, the more meritorious, the harder it became; and remained external to the real meaning of goodness. Schiller deeply felt and resented this impossible view of the moral nature.

"Though, by the utmost care, I should reduce all my actions to universal rules, I might still remain morally dead. For true morality is not any specific set of actions according to rules, but the simple, inner, impulse of good-will. 'Without love I am nothing,' so far as my true moral life is concerned. The supreme moral question for me is always: Shall I, as a scientist, knowing nature, and, as an artist, appreciating and mastering her values, will to appropriate the goods of life for myself, or, with an outstreaming will of good, share them with others?

"The universal moral law, then, is not the 'categorical imperative,' or even the Golden Rule, of which it is an abstract statement, but that deeper and more inclusive law: 'Love thy neighbor as thyself.' Deeper and more inclusive, because, while in the former I look to the condition or act of another for my standard of duty; in the latter, I look simply to the universal obligation of good-will within my own heart. Such is the ultimate law of the ethical reason, for it is, to use St. Paul's fine expression, that love which 'is the fulfilling of the law.'"

But the noble dream of the fathers has measurably failed because political independence and emancipation were not complemented by economic independence; and a new feudalism of privilege has arisen and in recent years has grown with alarming rapidity, until we have a plutocracy threatening to shoulder out democracy in the great Republic. In considering this real peril, Dr. Mars' words are pregnant with wisdom.

"We like," he observes, "to boast in America—and not without some color of justice—of our progress over the past, and our political advance over other peoples; but it would be superficial folly to lay the flattering unction to our souls that we have, with all our civil liberty, reached anything like true social and economic reality; that is, a condition of human fellowship that can be called ethically real, or correspondent to the objective, harmonious, cosmic law of universal goodness.

"We have indeed deeply imbedded in the

national consciousness the principle of political equality and freedom, but that only serves to emphasize more clearly our industrial, commercial, financial or economic servitude. The production of wealth, its accumulation, and its distribution are factors in our civilization which have as yet been brought into nothing like rational harmony, representing rather the irrational chaos of a competitive, struggling egoism.

"In a country of unexampled resources, where all start even, with the understanding that man is man, and where there is professed the sacred doctrines of liberty, equality and fraternity, there emerges at the end of a century an economic condition in which a thousand men, or one-sixtieth of one per cent. of the entire free electorate, own over sixty per cent. of all the country's wealth; in which single families spend five hundred thousand dollars a year, and then do not exhaust their income, while the average laborer, if he keeps well and can get work, earns five hundred dollars a year, or one-tenth of one per cent. as much, and thus walks from day to day on a thread above the abyss of hunger and pauperism. And this is to say nothing of that margin of respectable poor who proudly and hopefully struggle on to the point of exhaustion, or until they lose their grip and fall into the hopeless ranks of careless degeneracy.

"Thus there grows up in a republic of free men the widest and most incongruous divergence between the rich and the poor, between the favored and privileged, and the unfavored and unprivileged. Equality and fraternity cease to be—except in name—and liberty becomes an impossibility. Equality in intelligence, force of character, and skill, and, consequently, in economic value and earning capacity to the community? Most assuredly not! No one ever believed that. But equality of opportunity, in a free and unrestricted field, up to the measure of each man's native capacity and merits. And such a condition as that does not exist economically among us. There has indeed been the liberty of an open, unrestricted field, in which the strong, the fortunate, the cunning, could prey upon the weak, the unfortunate, the simple; but this is not liberty, this is the destruction of that liberty for which men fought in order to free themselves from the oppressive restrictions of a natural selfishness; and it is a reversion to the license of the primeval slime of competitive, brutal animalism against brutal animalism, and is not

the coöperative fraternity of human association or of rational moral beings.

"Such wide economic discrepancies are rationally and morally absurd in a Republic, the very genius of which lies in its power to develop, not the material fortunes of favored individuals, but the intelligence, character and skill of all its citizens, as self-respecting, competent and free men; and to destroy those old false, traditional limitations and barriers of fortuitous circumstance and privilege that inevitably distort and degrade the fortunate as well as the unfortunate in body and mind."

This author strikes the key-note of the political issues of the hour in these lines:

"The great world-problem of our modern era is economic. It is not of our human contriving. It is cosmic, and has been forced upon us by the irresistible advance of rational evolution. It is not simply economic, but scientific and moral, and goes back for its immediate cause to the Renaissance and Reformation, and for its remote cause to Hellenism and Hebraism.

"Before the Renaissance, the poor and unfortunate could be consoled by the 'sacred, revealed' doctrine of the Church that the world at best is a howling wilderness, and that man's real affluence and happiness is to be found after death in the world beyond.

"Before the Reformation, the oppressed and wronged could be consoled by the 'sacred revealed' doctrine of the Church that it mattered little what society is here and now, for the oppressive cruelties and injustice of worldly rulers would in time be escaped for the Kingdom of Heaven in Heaven hereafter. So far as government was wise and good, it was regarded as divinely established and therefore never to be desecrated by change, or the thought of change; and every man was to regard it, as a most sacred, religious obligation, to be content with that lot in which it had pleased a wise Providence to place him.

"But the Renaissance destroyed forever that old *theoretical*, and the Reformation abolished forever that old *ethical* dualistic supernaturalism; for the Renaissance showed that the world is a glorious abode for man, provided he knows its objective laws and obeys them; and the Reformation showed that the Kingdom of Heaven is a possibility on earth, when the dignity and worth of every man is fully recognized as *man*, on the basis of his intelligence, character and capacity of service.

"And the Renaissance and Reformation

are not two independent movements, but two distinct phases of the same movement, the lofty significance and inescapable obligation of which now imperatively demands the attention of our thought and the obedience of our will.

"What, in these premises, my brothers, are you going to do? You cannot dodge the issue; it must be squarely met. The vast and undreamed-of resources which a growing scientific knowledge of nature is more and more laying bare before our astonished eyes: how shall we share them among ourselves? That is the supreme question of the hour; and, while upon the surface it is an *economic*, at bottom it is a *moral* question.

"We shall never answer that question on the plane of selfish struggle; nor shall we ever answer it on the plane of justice, which is but a balance of selfish struggling interests. It will be answered alone when we rise to the level of that one objectively real, ethical principle, which is an outstreaming will of good towards all. Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

To the puerile and shallow cry of the apologists for the feudalism of privileged wealth, that if the object of great material gains was taken away men would not exert themselves, Dr. Mars replies:

"If we were to sweep away the fierce and bitter struggles of our economic feudalism, the irrational contrasts of state between rich and poor, the jumbled chaos and waste of industrial relations, there would not be wanting able men who, rather than wrest from their unwilling competitors and discontented subordinates an enforced acknowledgement of their power, would gladly assume the honors and responsibilities, such as those of a chief magistrate or a great general, in order to coöperate with all the economic forces that go to build up and maintain the welfare of the whole community.

"It is only thus when each, according to his ability, shall render this service to all and for all, that economic freedom can be said to approach civil freedom, or rather the economic state become one with the political state, as, throughout all its relations, a government of the people, by the people and for the people."

The position of many people, who imagine they are very godly and who think it a virtue to close their eyes to the existing evils of the hour, is something that must sturdily be combatted.

"We must not yield," says Dr. Mars, "to that easy and comfortable inertia of con-

servatism which conforms or submits to any given order as ultimate, on the basis of present satisfaction, convention, authority, or the permanence of a fixed and unalterable human selfishness. We must ever remind ourselves of the historical meaning of that great word, evolution, in the light of which we mark the beneficent and progressive developments of the past.

"And we must equally remind ourselves that human nature is much more than selfish; it is also deeply unselfish. Man is as good as he is bad. Crushed down, baffled, oppressed, driven to desperation by misery, or the fear of misery, he has displayed at times only the cruder, elemental instincts of the brute. Free him, throw open the gates of opportunity to the development of his normal powers, and there emerges the nobler and higher man."

In these words we find voiced the new conscience, the awakened ethical reason of the better minds of the hour in various domains of intellectual activity. We are in the opening hours of the greatest moral conflict of the ages. On the surface it is political; at heart it is

moral. And in the battle no man of conviction, no lover of humanity can afford to take his stand on the side of privileged wealth that is warring against the genius of democracy, which is the side of materialistic commercialism dominated by money-madness, that is warring against the ideal of justice, fraternity and coöperation.

As the master goal of the last great struggle was political emancipation, so the master aim of the present conflict is economic emancipation. As the master note of the democratic dawning era was justice for all the people, the new epoch will go a step further and demand that love shall be the supreme note—that "love thy neighbor as thyself" shall so permeate the state that the people shall see to it that the aged and afflicted shall be cared for and that all persons shall be so environed that they may shadow forth the highest and the best that is in them, instead of being the victims of man's cupidity and of the injustice and indifference of a slothful or corrupt government.

B. O. FLOWER.

*Boston, Massachusetts.*

## POLITICS, THE PEOPLE AND THE TRUSTS AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS.



Opper, in Boston American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

HORSEBACK ENDURANCE RIDES ALL THE RAGE!

Prominent Equestrians Try to Beat President's Record.



Naughton, in Duluth Herald.

TOO MUCH TURKEY.

The Doctor Prescribes a Medicine the Patient Does Not Like.

Leipziger, in Detroit News.

EMBARRASSING.



Macauley, in New York World.

REVEALED!



Johnson, in Philadelphia North American.

WHICH?



Rogers, in New York Herald.  
"BON VOYAGE."



Bradley, in Chicago News.  
CALIFORNIA'S MISFIT.



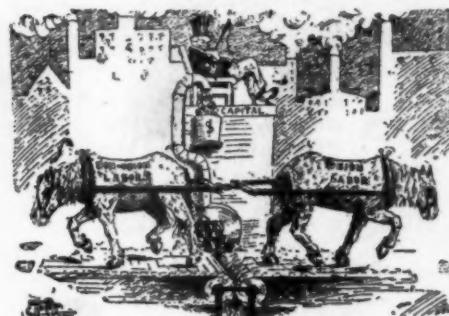
Spencer, in The Commoner.  
"UPON WHAT MEAT DOOTH THIS, OUR  
CESAR, FEED?"



Macauley, in New York World.  
BACK TO THE SIMPLE LIFE.



Ruger, in New York Call.  
WILL THE CONSTITUTION BAR THE WAY?



Ruger, in New York Call.  
MAKING IT EASY FOR HIM.

# IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

## THE AMERICAN FEDERATION LEADERS AND THE COURTS.

### **Arrogation of Unwarranted Judicial Power Fatal to Free Government.**

FOR MANY years THE ARENA has insistently emphasized the menace to free institutions that lay in the steady arrogation of power by the judiciary. No deadlier blow has been struck against free government in the last fifty years than the abridgment of the right of trial by jury; while the abuses of the injunction power have established a set of precedents that under certain circumstances might easily render the feudalism of privileged wealth as dangerous to republican institutions as was the throne of the Stuarts, when bulwarked by a servile judiciary, long capable of thwarting the wishes, the interests and the will of the people. The solemn lesson taught by English history, by the Star Chamber acts and by the monstrous crimes of Jeffreys, ought to prove a solemn warning to all Anglo-Saxons awake to the priceless value of a free heritage, clearly showing them that if they would preserve the rights of free government they must at all hazards combat the assumption of autocratic power on the part of the judiciary. Especially must they oppose all attempts to abridge the fundamental right of trial by jury, else it will only be a question of time when autocratic power will be used, as has been the case in the past, by the judiciary to bulwark some form of despotism or injustice.

Judges who prior to their appointments have long been corporation attorneys, and who may owe their position on the bench to the interests they have faithfully served, may in their hearts desire to be fair and impartial; yet in the great number of cases they will be strongly biased in favor of their former clients. They have long been accustomed to look at all questions through the glasses of the interests, when their client's case ran counter to that of the state or the citizens. This alone will more or less affect the judgment of many judges who might intentionally desire to be fair and just. In other instances, the long personal friendship and business association with the master-spirits of the feudalism of privileged wealth will give marked bias to the rulings of the

judge. Though lamentable, this is not surprising. But it makes it all the more important that friends of free institutions and fundamental democracy should resolutely oppose every aggressive step on the part of the judicial as well as the executive departments of government.

### **Immunity for "Malefactors of Great Wealth," Punishment for Champions of Toil, a Master Cause of Growing Dis-trust of The Judiciary.**

Since the rise of the feudalism of privileged wealth and its entrance into American politics, through the agencies of the boss and the money-controlled machine, one of the most striking phenomena presented has been the ease with which capital has evaded adequate court punishments for defiance of law, when it has been unable to prevent the enactment of legislation to safeguard the interests of the people and protect government from the debauching influence of corrupt wealth. There appears to have been little difficulty in punishing the offenders against the law when they were poor men or when the strong arm of privileged and capitalistic influences has not been stretched out in their behalf. The recent conviction imposition of a fine, and nullification of the court's award by the higher judiciary, in the case of the Standard Oil Company, and the conviction and prison sentence of the leaders of the American Federation of Labor are only two striking recent illustrations of this grave reactionary tendency that has become more and more marked during the past thirty years.

Of all the powerful heads of law-defying and government-corrupting corporations, and master-spirits of high finance whom the insurance revelations and the various graft exposures have implicated during recent years, not one has found his way to the criminal docks. Mayor Schmitz and Abe Ruef have properly been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for their corrupt practices; but none of the public-service company bribers, either in San Francisco, St. Louis or elsewhere, are to-day wearing striped garments.

But when capitalistic interests desire to

prevent labor from showing who its enemies are and from striving to protect the organized toilers in the battle with corporate wealth, the courts are ready with injunctions; and then, when the organ of the laborers and the agents of the Federation exercise what they believed, and what all persons until very recently held, to be their rights under the Constitution, they were proceeded against.

And in passing let us note the important fact that when a corporation like the Standard Oil Company is brought before the bar, its officers are not proceeded against criminally, and on conviction merely a fine is levied; but when the American Federation of Labor is brought to the bar, the blow is dealt against its leaders and they are treated as criminals.

Under these circumstances it is not strange that there is a growing distrust of the courts. The attempt to abridge the rights of the citizens in regard to trial by jury, and the abuses of the injunction power, when supplemented by the general futile attempts on the part of the government and the courts to adequately punish the great capitalistic offenders, afford perhaps the most startling illustrations of the rapid strides of reaction against democratic government since the corporations entered politics.

#### **A Fundamental Democratic Thinker's Summary of The Situation.**

The ablest and most exhaustive discussion of the vital points involved in the Gompers-Mitchell-Morrison case appears as the leading editorial in *The Public* of Chicago, for January 1st. Space prevents our giving more than two brief extracts from this statesmanlike paper, which merits the perusal of every American citizen. In the following, however, the vital issues involved are so clearly set forth that they will tend to remove much of the confusion from the public mind which the capitalistic papers have been actively engaged in creating:

"When judges administer the law, their decrees, though manifestly erroneous, should be respectfully obeyed. This is necessary to good order. But if judges usurp authority, their lawless edicts should be ignored. This is necessary to the preservation of liberty.

"For that reason Samuel Gompers, John Mitchell and Frank Morrison—executive officers of the American Federation of Labor, and editors of *The American Federationist*—are worthy of all commendation for having

ignored a judge's injunction which assumed to control their public utterances. They stand in this respect, not as labor leaders merely, but as editors and American citizens jealous of their fundamental rights of editorship and citizenship. By ignoring an injunction destructive of their Constitutional right to print and publish upon responsibility only for the abuse of the right, and solely to a jury, they have been vindicating Constitutional guarantees of the first importance. The fact that it is a judge instead of an executive whom they have thereby disobeyed makes no difference. Judges may be tyrants, too; and it is as true of them, when they usurp power, as it is of every other kind of tyrant, that disobedience to a tyrant is obedience to the law.

"The same thought holds good of all local labor unions and their publications throughout the country which have followed the example of those patriotic and courageous labor leaders—Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison. It may be that the boycott of organized labor upon the goods of the Buck's Range and Stove Company is unlawful; but that is a point we shall not here discuss, for it is irrelevant. It may be that publication of the fact of this boycott, with a suggestion, express or implied, that it be encouraged, is unlawful; but neither shall we discuss that point here, for it also is irrelevant. The relevant point is the despotic and unlawful method of prosecution. If these publications have been unlawful, there is one way and only one way, known to the fundamental laws of our country, of punishing the offenders; and this is upon the verdict of a jury, and after a regular trial in which not only the fact of the publication itself but its excuse or justification may be passed upon. Our fundamental law authorizes no other method or process for the punishment of an abuse of freedom of speech or of the press. Punishment by means of an injunction, and through proceedings for contempt—such as the proceedings against Gompers and his associates—and at a hearing in which the only question considered is the mere fact of publication, and at which there is no right of trial by jury, is not authorized by our system of law.

"Around that point no niceties of legal interpretation or construction legitimately cluster. Acute lawyers and astute judges are not needed to decide it. It is a broad political as distinguished from a technical legal question. Every one who knows his American history knows that a judge-made prohibition of free-

dom of speech or press can issue only in defiance of fundamental American law. Not even the legislature, not even Congress, can make such a prohibition. And may judges, raised above the control of the people, command what the legislative authority is powerless to enact?

"Mr. Taft, now President-elect, was, while he sat upon the bench, one of the early innovators in the direction of substituting for jury trials for crime the summary proceeding by injunction with its chancery penalties for contempt. Little by little the innovation has proceeded, until now a judge at the Capital of the Republic proclaims the injunction as a legitimate substitute for jury trial in libel cases. Twenty years ago the American bar would have been horrified at such a declaration. Leading lawyers would have denounced it as 'bad law,' and serious hints would not have been wanting from that quarter that the judge uttering such heresy must be incompetent or worse. But to-day, this judicial heresy draws out no serious criticism from the bar, stimulates no repugnance, excites no wonder. Even the newspapers, those that are not yet in danger of this mode of attack, are supine unless indeed they encourage the reaction. So far then have we gone on the backward road toward absolutism.

"Even as the injunction originated in despotic kingly power, even as it was a device for overriding the law, so now is it passing back again from a regulative process of value within limitations—having overleaped those limitations—and asserting itself as a mandate of despotic authority. Originally a device of the king for usurping judicial functions, it is coming to be an instrument of judges for usurping kingly functions."

**Judge Parker Points Out How Sacred Constitutional Rights are Being Trampled Upon by The Courts.**

Another very able summary of some of the fundamental issues involved was made by ex-Chief Judge of the New York Court of Appeals, Alton B. Parker, in a statement made public a few days after Judge Wright rendered his decision. Judge Parker goes at length into the legal points involved and cites numerous decisions bulwarking his contention that the courts have no constitutional right or power for the exercise of the authority they have arrogated to themselves. In the course of his argument he says:

"The constitution of every state provides

in effect that every citizen may freely speak, write and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right, and no law shall be passed to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech or of the press.

"In fear that the Federal government might attempt to control public speech and the press, the first amendment to the Federal Constitution provided that 'Congress shall pass no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press.'

"What the Constitution prohibits is not punishment of an abuse of the right of free speech or the right of free publication, but all attempts to control in advance free speaking or free publication. *The attempt to control in advance constitutes a censorship over freedom of the press and of speech, which it was the aim of the framers of our Constitution to prevent.*

"It has been urged that even if the court, in violation of the Constitution, does make an order prohibiting a man from making a speech on a certain subject, or prohibiting a newspaper from publishing an editorial on the same subject, the party enjoined must nevertheless obey the decree; if he does not, the court may punish him, although it has no power to make the order.

"But certainly that which the Constitution prohibits, the court may not do, any more than the legislature. The unconstitutional statute need not be obeyed; and so the courts have held time and again. He who elects to disobey the statute takes the risk; but if the statute be unconstitutional, no harm can come to him for ignoring it. And this is so, say the courts, because the statute is absolutely void. It would seem to follow that a decree of a court offending against the Constitution need not be obeyed, because it is wholly and completely void.

**Potency of The Court.**

"So far as we have been able to discover, no court has ever held otherwise. But if one should presume to do so, it would place itself in the absurd position of according to a court decree the potency and force superior to the statutes or of the legislatures of states. It would in effect hold that the law-making power (which, within the limits prescribed by the Constitution, can create the law which the courts must obey—can by statute tear down the common law, which the court has builded up, and substitute in its place its own law), is less potent than the administrator of the law created by it.

"Certainly it seems to me that the judicial

department of the government will not be guilty of the absurdity of holding that an unconstitutional enactment by the law-making department of the government may be defied by the humblest citizen with impunity because absolutely void, but that on the other hand, a decree of the judicial department, equally offending against the Constitution, has such force and vitality as to support imprisonment of him, who, standing on his constitutional rights, dares to violate it."

A few more years marked by reactionary precedents on the part of the executive and judicial branches of government, and the old safeguards which bulwarked democracy will

have been swept from the people, and America will present the spectacle of a nation which, though under the form of republican rule, will be a despotism responsive at all times to an irresponsible, materialistic and unscrupulous feudalism of privileged wealth. Students of history well know that when the people of Florence allowed themselves to be lulled to sleep, the di Medici family became the absolute rulers of the so-called republic, without holding any office or officially arrogating any power to themselves. Shall Florence be a prototype of the great Republic? This is the solemn question for every earnest American to consider.

### THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS AS VIEWED BY MR. ROOSEVELT AND BY JEFFERSON AND DE TOCQUEVILLE.

**M**R. ROOSEVELT'S amazing attempt to have the government prosecute a newspaper that had had the temerity to publish some ugly rumors that had gained wide currency concerning the Panama Canal, and to add to this offense by demanding that the Congress of the United States thoroughly investigate the charges, has happily brought into bold contrast the essential difference between a great, broad-minded, democratic statesman and an autocratic politician whose sympathies are far more in accordance with the ideas of the Emperor William than with those of an upholder of free or popular government.

No President, with possibly the exception of Abraham Lincoln, was ever more shamefully slandered, misrepresented or calumniated than was Thomas Jefferson. Yet in the face of all this calumny he bravely defended the right of freedom of the press, not because he regarded the slanders as unobjectionable, but because he knew that if the great experiment of democracy being made in the New World should prove a failure, it would be in one of three ways: either by the strong arm of militarism, the abridgment of the right of free speech and a free press, or by the arrogation of unconstitutional and arbitrary powers by the courts. Hence he strenuously opposed everything that tended to foster any of these things that might easily be used to undermine popular government. We are to-day seriously threatened by all these reactionary and democracy-destroying

influences. Hence the words of Jefferson, and those of our great French critic, de Tocqueville, on the freedom of the press are very timely.

In a letter to the Marquis de Lafayette, Mr. Jefferson wrote:

"The only security of all is a free press. The force of public opinion cannot be resisted when permitted freely to be expressed. The agitation it produces must be submitted to. It is necessary to keep the waters pure."

To Judge Tyler he wrote:

"Our first object should be to leave open to him [man] all the avenues of truth. The most effectual hitherto found is the freedom of the press. It is therefore the first shut up by those who fear the investigation of their actions."

In a letter to Edward Carrington he said:

"The basis of our governments being the opinion of the people, the very first object should be to keep that right; and were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter."

A free press and universal education Mr. Jefferson held to be the true safeguards of a free government. Thus he said in a letter to Charles Yancey:

"When the press is free and every man able to read, all is safe."

And again, in one of his addresses, he observed:

"The liberty of speaking and writing guards our other liberties."

To the Spanish Commissioners he had this to say:

"Considering the great importance to the public liberty of the freedom of the press, and the difficulty of submitting it to very precise rules, the laws have thought it less mischievous to give greater scope to the freedom than to the restraint of it. The President has therefore no authority to prevent publications of the nature of those you complain of."

At the time when the great Frenchman, de Tocqueville, visited America, the press exercised a greater degree of license than would be dreamed of to-day. He was naturally shocked at the recklessness and unprincipled action of many editors. How great his contempt was for the reckless and unjustifiable editorial action of many newspapers may be gained from the following strictures in his great work on *Democracy in America*:

"The journalists of the United States are

generally in a very humble position, with a scanty education and a vulgar turn of mind.

"The characteristics of the American journalist consist in an open and coarse appeal to the passions of his readers; he abandons principles to assail the characters of individuals, to track them into private life, and disclose all their weaknesses and vices.

"Nothing can be more deplorable than this abuse of the powers of thought."

Yet while fully awake to the evils of an unscrupulous press, he knew, from the lessons of history, that there would be grave danger in any attempt against the freedom of the press. Hence we find him saying:

"The more I consider the independence of the press in its principal consequences, the more am I convinced that, in the modern world, it is the chief, and, so to speak, the constitutive element of liberty. A nation which is determined to remain free is therefore right in demanding, at any price, the exercise of this independence."

## THE REACTION TOWARD GOVERNMENT BY CORPORATIONS.

THE New York *World* is evincing alarm at the arrogant advance of the forces of reaction and despotism which represent government by the corporations. In view of the aggressive warfare waged by the *World* against Mr. Bryan and all who represented fundamental democracy or popular government, this new rôle reminds one of the appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober, for we doubt if in the East a single daily has been more effective in its reactionary influence than the New York *World* during the past two years. It is, however, refreshing to find this paper beginning to realize the perils which all fundamental democrats and thoughtful friends of free government anticipated in the event of the triumph of the forces that represent government by corporate wealth; and much of what the *World* says is worthy the serious consideration of our people. Thus, for example, in its editorial leader of December 25th we find the following:

"The evidences of reaction are on every hand. Just as the triumph over free silver in 1896 sent the pendulum swinging toward corporation government, so the end of Rooseveltism, with all its follies and excesses, is likely to

send the pendulum swinging back toward corporation government.

"Even Mr. Roosevelt himself has surrendered and proposes to emasculate the Sherman law, which he never attempted impartially to enforce, substituting in its stead Executive control over all interstate business.

"There is no mistaking the significance of the applause which greeted ex-Governor Black's attack upon the anti-trust act at the dinner of the New England Society. It represents too general a state of mind, due largely to disgust with the Rooseveltian methods. Elihu Root, whose 'adroit mind,' as Mr. Harriman said, was the mainspring of all Thomas F. Ryan's successful corporation manipulations, is to represent New York in the United States Senate. This is more reaction. It is certain that whoever succeeds Philander C. Knox as United States Senator from Pennsylvania will be a corporation man and Mr. Knox's mental and political inferior. Mr. Taft is seeking to send his brother to the Senate from Ohio, although Charles P. Taft is a corporation manager, with none of the qualifications for the office which distinguish his statesmanlike rival, Theodore E. Burton.

Charles P. Taft's election will be another reactionary triumph."

The *World* further holds that Mr. Roosevelt has been "the most dangerous enemy of true radicalism," as his indiscriminate and intemperate denunciations, it believes, have invited the reaction which now threatens the country. "Rooseveltism," it observes, "is not radicalism in any sane, rational or intelligent sense. It is a great misfortune that so many people confuse the two."

The *World's* position in regard to President Roosevelt is only partially true. It is not the President's fulminations against his enemies among the representatives of predatory wealth, and elsewhere, that are chiefly responsible for the present reactionary sweep, but rather the fact that from the first he has persistently chosen as his intimate counselors and counted among his friends reactionaries and men holding intimate relations with the feudalism of privileged wealth and the political bosses, and the fact that he has time and again, after taking a strong stand for the people, compromised with their enemies at the time when victory was within his power; while the autocratic precedents he has established and the arrogation of powers not delegated to the executive department have dealt probably the heaviest blows to the theory of free or democratic government that have been given by an executive since the foundation of the Republic.

(1) Mr. Roosevelt, as THE ARENA has shown time and again, has surrounded himself by men who are thoroughly satisfactory to the "malefactors of great wealth." He numbered among his warm political friends the notorious Matt. Quay, and probably the man who has been nearest to him during all his Presidential career has been Elihu Root, who, from the days when he was severely reprimanded by the judge for his action in behalf of Boss Tweed, to the

time he entered political life has been the trusted friend and handy-man of the great corporation chiefs of the Whitney-Ryan type. George B. Cortelyou, William H. Taft, Philander Knox, Henry Cabot Lodge, and ex-Senator Spooner are among the reactionary counselors and friends he has chosen among public servants.

(2) As we have had occasion to point out in numerous instances, after defending the cause of the people against their corrupt and lawless enemies, such as the railway corporations and the poison-disseminating beef trust, he has compromised with the people's enemies after the victory for what he demanded was within his grasp. He foisted Taft on his party, well knowing that this gentleman was one of the best beloved among public men by the railway interests and other public-service corporations, the trusts and monopolies which are exerting such a sinister and democracy-destroying influence on the nation; and he furthermore knew that Mr. Taft was with the upholders of government by corporation and boss-rule in his outspoken opposition to popular rule through Direct-Legislation.

(3) But it has been in the exercise of autocratic and unconstitutional power and his attempts to ape old-time despots, as in his recent effort to have the government proceed against one of the great metropolitan papers for what might well be characterized as *lèse majesté*, that we find the gravest menace to free institutions that has characterized the reactionary course of the President.

The impartial historian, writing of the administration of President Roosevelt, will, we believe, be forced to conclude that in spite of some most commendable acts on his part and of many fair and noble utterances, he has been the most reactionary President the nation has yet known.

#### MR. CARNEGIE'S REVELATION OF THE EXTORTION PRACTICED BY THE STEEL TRUST.

THE ARENA has repeatedly called attention to the extortion practiced by the Steel Trust on every American citizen. This robbery, legalized through the tariff, has resulted in diverting millions upon millions of dollars that rightfully belong to the American

wealth-producers and consumers, into the pockets of the holders of the watered stock of the trust. These stockholders are largely the high financiers, stock-gamblers and captains of industry, whose sinister influence is so clearly seen in the government and the controlled

press of the land. On more than one occasion persons have questioned the charges of extortive profits being made by the Steel Trust. Such questioning will hardly be repeated, however, in the future, as Andrew Carnegie, than whom no man in America is better qualified to speak authoritatively as to the cost of the manufacture of steel, recently emphatically declared before the Congressional Committee that the Steel Trust was clearing \$15.50 on every ton it produced. The Boston *Post* thus editorially comments upon Mr. Carnegie's positive declaration:

"When Mr. Andrew Carnegie found his testimony before the tariff committee at Washington interrupted by a whispered conference between Chairman Payne and Congressman Dalzell, he turned to the audience and said: 'They are saying, "The jig is up."'

"Is the jig up? Carnegie ought to be a competent judge of the situation. And the testified facts seem to sustain his judgment. The report of the Steel Trust shows that it has made profits of \$158,000,000 on 10,000,000 tons of steel, figuring out an absolute profit of \$15.50 a ton. Does this infant industry need more protection? Is it not able to go alone, having grown to its present fatness by feeding upon American industry?

"Mr. Carnegie says: 'I made the statement that a ton of steel could be made cheaper in America than in any foreign country, and if that were tested to-day in Pittsburg, where the original cost of rails was fixed at \$15, and if foreign manufacturers adopted the same method of telling their costs, I do n't think that Pittsburg would lose the trophy of the honor of being the cheapest steel producer in the world.'

"Producing steel cheaper than any country in the world, why should American consumers of steel products be compelled to pay more than any other people in the world? Why should the people of this country be taxed for the further profit of the steel-makers?"

Of course, all the influence of the papers controlled by J. P. Morgan, August Belmont, Thomas F. Ryan, the Steel and other trusts, and the railways and other public-service corporations, will be employed as of old in an attempt to fool the people with vicious sophistries and plausible half-truths. Indeed, we are again hearing the old cry that the American workman is the best-paid man in the world—a fact if considered from one point-of-view, but a glaring falsity if considered honestly or from the view-point of what he renders for his service. In this connection we call the attention of our readers to the following extract from an address recently delivered by the Rev. Charles Stelzle of New York city, in which the hoary half-truth of the multi-millionaire beneficiaries of the high tariff is clearly exposed. Said Dr. Stelzle:

"The American workman is the best-paid workman in the world by two or four times as much as his brothers in other countries, but in proportion to what he produces he is the poorest paid man in the world. This statement I get, not from labor leaders, but from the United States government, where it was studied out."

Under these circumstances, as shown by the government reports, the man is blind indeed who does not see that the tariff on his products "increases the worker's cost of living without increasing his wages."

#### THE PRESIDENT, THE SECRET SERVICE AND CONGRESS.

THE GRAVE character of the things involved in the scandal arising from the President's intimation of Congressional corruption, renders out of place the levity displayed by certain journals in treating the question. And it is equally deplorable that just at a time when the people were beginning to demand that the New York *World's* Panama charges should be thoroughly sifted by Congress, this matter should be seized on by politicians in administration and Congressional circles, as

well as by certain capitalistic newspapers and made the subject of such sensational dust-throwing that the ugly charges of the *World* bid fair to pass without any searching investigations on the part of Congress.

To the outsider it certainly appears that in spite of the rage manifested by President Roosevelt and his attempt to terrorize the *World* by his threat of *lèse majesté*, neither he, Congress nor certain high financiers were anxious to let in the light where only a search-

ing investigation could exonerate the administration from the grave charges that undue influence was exerted to secure the Panama instead of the Nicaragua route. If for no other purpose than to clear the skirts of the administration, a rigid and impartial investigation should be made. To hush the matter up will make the people more than ever feel that their Congress is a craven body that dares not investigate matters of vital moment to the integrity of the nation, when certain interests do not desire an investigation.

Whether the hue and cry about the President's insult to Congress was raised to divert the public mind from the Panama scandal, we cannot say, but certainly since the question has been raised as to the integrity of Congress, only a body conscious of the damning guilt of many of its members could accept in shamed silence the humiliating intimation, which amounts to a charge, from the President, especially after it had been threatened in such a manner as to constitute a dare.

At the time when Congressmen were fulminating against the President and declaring what their bodies would do, the press dispatches announced that Mr. Roosevelt had had the secret-service agents collect a vast amount of data that would be used in exposing Congressmen and substantiating his charges, if the legislative bodies resented his charges. This threat has up to the date of the present writing seemed to have had the effect of a cold sponge-bath on the heated and erstwhile sensitive representatives of the people; while to every honest, decent and nation-loving citizen the necessity is clear for such an investigation as Congress first declared would be forthcoming. If Congress does not act with fearlessness in the presence of the President's insult, it will stand before the nation convicted by its silence.

But this is not all. The President has placed himself in a position almost as deplorable as that in which he has placed Congress. Either his intimation in regard to the corruption of Congressmen was true or false. If true, the subject is too vitally important to the American people to be permitted to be hushed up. If the secret-service agents have collected, as has been intimated, a vast amount of damaging, if not damning, evidence against the people's representatives, a solemn and inescapable duty devolves upon the President, who possesses that evidence, to give it to the public. To do otherwise would be to betray the inter-

ests of the people, to be false to his pledge, and in reality to become *particeps criminis* in the wrong against the electorate. He has no right to use this evidence merely as a club wielded by an irresponsible autocrat to gratify personal whims or to terrify Congress. Either the people's servants have or have not been guilty of grave offenses, and if the United States secret-service agents have accumulated damaging evidence and placed it in the hands of the President, what shall be said of Mr. Roosevelt if he allows the guilty miscreants to remain in a position to betray the people, when, by giving to the public the evidence he possesses, the public career of these traitors would be terminated by an aroused people?

Whether or not Congress will cringe and skulk before the President's threat, the action of Mr. Roosevelt, viewed from any standpoint, is reprehensible. Either he had no right to make the grave charges or intimations, or if, as later reports indicate, he possesses a vast amount of evidence that would implicate the people's representatives occupying high places, he is recreant to his high and sacred trust if he does not make public that evidence.

Since writing the above, the President has sent a message to Congress evidently intended to mollify that body and prevent it from censoring his reckless utterances. In it he disclaimed intending to convey meanings which the members of Congress and the general readers naturally inferred from the wording of the message. Congress, however, was in no mood to be mollified by the President's disclaimers and it promptly acted in the matter by severely rebuking the President, characterizing his statements in his annual message as "unjustified and without basis of fact; a breach of privilege of the House." The offensive passages in his message were tabled.

Never since the impeachment of Andrew Johnson has a President of the United States been so severely rebuked by the national House; and the fact that the resolution thus censuring the President was passed by such an overwhelming majority adds materially to the humiliation of Mr. Roosevelt, as it indicates that the large majority of the members of his own party no less than of the opposition have grown to feel that his insulting, autocratic and arbitrary action and words have become intolerable.

It is greatly to be regretted that the House did not come to its senses long ago, when the

Executive Department of government began to make bureaucratic rulings to compass legislation that Congress had positively refused

to place upon the statute books, as then precedents perilous to popular government would not have been established.

## THE LATE DR. ALEXANDER KENT AND HIS SERVICE TO SOCIETY.

**O**N THE tenth of December occurred the death of the Rev. Alexander Kent, one of the noblest representatives of practical Christianity, or the social and religious ideals of Jesus of Nazareth, that has occupied the pulpit during the past fifty years in the United States. For seventeen years Dr. Kent has been the pastor of the People's Church in Washington—a church that has been the center or meeting-ground for all the noblest and most earnest social, economic and political workers whose aims were the furtherance of the principles of fundamental democracy and social justice. Dr. Kent was formerly a Universalist clergyman. For fifty-two years he has been an active minister. His last pastorate in the Universalist denomination was that of the Church of Our Father, in Washington. He left this pulpit in 1890 to become pastor of the undenominational People's Church.

The *Washington Star*, in a comprehensive news notice published on the day of his death, well said:

"Intensely practical and an idealist, he applied Christianity to the problems of the day—ethical, religious, social and political. For twenty years he has spoken on these topics. . . . Several years ago Dr. Kent was employed by the government to investigate coöperative communities. His report on this subject is a standard authority. His addresses and sermons have also been widely published."

Dr. Kent was in vigorous health up to three or four days before his death. He contracted a cold at a conference held for the promotion of the Initiative and Referendum, at which Governor Chamberlain of Oregon and United States Senator Owen of Oklahoma were present. This cold developed into double pneumonia.

A fitting memorial service was held in Washington on December 20th, presided over by Professor Thomas E. Will, A.M., the distinguished educator and well-known contributor to *THE ARENA*. In opening the memorial meeting, Professor Will said:

"Human societies grow like trees. They

pass from stage to stage, from epoch to epoch. In so doing they shed outgrown ideas, institutions and customs as a serpent sheds his skin.

"Such transition threatens privilege. Its beneficiaries oppose the change, and fight for things as they are. Their watchword is, 'Let well enough alone!' 'As it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be.'

"But the transition likewise carries with it promise. Those who sit in darkness see a great light. They greet the change as the harbinger of a better day. Their battle-cry is, 'Forward to victory and freedom!'

"A century and more ago the struggle was on between decadent feudalism and a higher social state. Power and privilege, wealth and blood, respectability and rank, buttressed the old, and bade a starving people eat grass.

"And ready to their hand were prophets to prophesy falsely, and priests to justify injustice and to call evil good.

"But the people, staggering beneath their burdens, were not wholly voiceless. Alike from the dens and caves where toilers dwelt, and from gilded palaces where Belshazzars feasted came warnings of a wrath to come, and prophecies of a reign of liberty, love and light.

"The storm broke. The tempest of hail swept away the refuge of lies. The God of Justice scattered the proud, put down the mighty from their seats, and ushered in a new, historic era.

"To-day, the names of the champions of privilege are forgotten. But of the tribunes of the people we may say with Pericles of those who fell in defense of their country: 'Their glory shall never die; the whole wide world is their sepulchre; their epitaphs are written in the hearts of mankind, and wherever there is speech of noble deeds their names are held in remembrance.'

"History repeats itself. Civilization to-day struggles in the throes of a new birth. And again Ormuzd and Ahriman, light and darkness, contend for the mastery. But as surely as God lives, and truth, though crushed shall rise, right again shall win.

"We have met to-night to honor the name of one of the evangelists of progress, justice and freedom; of one of the apostles of the cause of the common man. We are here to testify that the memory of the just is blessed, and that his pathway is as a shining light. He was known to you all. Opportunity is now afforded you to pay him your tribute of respect."

Among the speakers at the memorial meeting were United States Senator Robert Owen, Rabbi Stern, Dr. A. D. Corey and Dr. Croffut. The *Washington Herald*, in noticing the memorial meeting, thus referred to the remarks of Rabbi Stern and United States Senator Owen:

"Speaking from an acquaintance and friendship dating back thirty years to the early period of his ministry, Rabbi Louis Stern summarized his estimate of the dead pastor in the word 'gentleman.'

"'If to be a gentleman,' continued Rabbi Stern, 'means to be a man "distinguished by his fine sense of honor, strict regard for his obligations and consideration for the rights and feelings of others," Dr. Kent was a gentleman indeed. He was a man strong physically, intellectually and morally, strong in his convictions, yet most gentle and kind, affable and courteous, thoughtful and considerate.'

"United States Senator Robert Owen, of Oklahoma, spoke of Dr. Kent's service to society in his fight for equal opportunities.

"'Society,' said Senator Owen, 'is struggling with the question of the equal distribution of the fruits of human labor. It is a fight in which thousands of us are engaged, and the solution of the question must be in the Initiative and Referendum, which is simply another name for the rule of the people. Dr. Kent devoted his life to furthering that ideal, and in his sturdy stand against special privileges he was a monument of power and strength.'

Few men have actively engaged in social and reformatory work in the United States who possessed so broad, tolerant and lovable a spirit as Dr. Kent. Like Professor Parsons, he will be greatly missed from our ranks, and his passing to the great majority renders it doubly important that all those who realize the grave demands of free institutions and social justice, and the perils which are threatening fundamental democracy from the aggressions of privilege, shall redouble their efforts in behalf of the government founded by the fathers, whose spirit was so splendidly embodied in the Declaration of Independence and the life, example and utterances of the Great Emancipator.

#### PRESIDENT ELIOT ON THE LAWLESSNESS OF CORPORATE WEALTH.

ON THE occasion of the opening of the Civic Forum at Carnegie Hall, New York city, on the night of December 16th, President Charles W. Eliot, of Harvard University, made a very notable address on lawlessness, in which he noted various kinds of law-defiance and evasion which are eating into the moral integrity of society. The immunity with which crimes of violence are committed in this nation, he held to be a disgrace calling for more effective repressive forces; and from this phase of the subject he passed to a consideration of the lawlessness of corporate wealth. His views on this vitally important subject are so timely and, coming from the foremost American educator, are so significant, that we give them in full:

"A far worse form of lawlessness is the violation of law by rich corporations. No crime of

explicit violation of law may have been committed, but innumerable lies have been told and many credulous people have been swindled out of their money. The operation taken in its entirety can only be described by the word 'theft,' although it may be quite impossible to get the thief dealt with by the courts as they would deal with a man who snatched a purse in the street or stole coupon bonds from a safe. Nevertheless the form of larceny is more vicious and much more injurious to society than the ordinary form. The public mind is often confused on this subject because not all promoters are lawless; some are only sanguine and ill-advised; they actually believe their own prowess and predictions and so are only chargeable with lack of good judgment and reasonable caution.

"It is a real misfortune for society that the

dishonest promoter so often escapes the clutches of the law because his kind of swindling can be and often is detected without express and admonishable violations of the law. Any man or any corporation who conducts his business on the edge of the law, so to speak, is morally a lawless person, though he never goes over the edge. An habitual law-evader is almost as bad as an habitual law-breaker.

"When a set of men should procure an act of incorporation in one state, proceeds to another and there procures an act of corporation, the assumption is a natural one that they mean to do in their business things which would be illegal in their own state. In the interest of the community some states impose restrictions on the conduct of corporations' business which other states carefully avoid imposing. Thus one may do things under an act of incorporation obtained in Maine or New Jersey which one could not do under a Massachusetts or New York act. And yet the restrictions imposed in Massachusetts and New York are presumably for the good of those communities, and of any community. They have been imposed by the legislature for good and sufficient reasons.

"Low standards of business conduct are often justified by the statement that business cannot be conducted in conformity with elevated ethical standards, and the business man must take his chance between destroying his business and taking advantage of the lowest standards which the law allows.

"If the law in one state has foolishly set the ethical standard too high, the practical man will move his business into another state where the standard is lower. We cannot say that by such conduct it is lawless, but we can say that it is degrading to the men who perpetuate it, and the community which witnesses his career, particularly if that career is successful.

"It is a safe rule to suspect lawlessness in all business transactions which have to be kept secret between buyer and seller or between agent and their principal. When, for instance, a transportation company gives rebates or other illegal advantages to one shipper, but not to all similar shippers, the act must be kept secret, because it is illegal, and the corporation which habitually does such things is justly described as lawless. Any individual or company which accepts such favors is also lawless,

and the profits which result from such secret arrangement are lawless profits.

"The briber and the bribed are both lawless, but the worst of the two is the briber. It saps the public faith in legislation and legislators.

"Another form of some lawlessness is the hiring of members of the legislature to promote some agricultural or manufacturing or transportation interests when questions of taxes or tariff legislation are under discussion in the national legislature. It is supposed by law that legislators under such circumstances may be themselves disinterested and impartial because their votes are to settle the general policy of taxation to be adopted and special enactments in which that policy is expressed. That any of them should become hired agents to promote the interests of any particular industry or manufacture is utterly repugnant to the law and to every principle of equity, and yet whenever Congress engages in the discussion of a tariff such transactions are apt to occur and sooner or later to be revealed, although they are secrets at the critical time."

The above mature conclusions of the venerable head of our greatest university cannot be lightly dismissed by the apologists for the feudalism of privileged wealth as the reckless utterances of the despised muck-rakers, whose wholesome and necessary work, by the way, is largely responsible for the great awakening among our educators, clergymen and other moral leaders. They are the careful conclusions of a man accustomed to weigh his words, and they are based on facts that cannot be disputed. True, there is nothing in the above remarks that has not already been appreciated and more or less clearly pointed out by many of our leading social reformers; but that they come from President Eliot is as inspiring to earnest friends of honesty and progressive government as it is significant. It clearly shows that we have reached a point in the campaign to compel the people to take cognizance of the moral criminality which flourishes under the *régime* of the feudalism of privileged wealth, where the public conscience is so aroused that even the reactionary leaders in the government, the press and certain educational and religious institutions will be powerless to stay the rising tide of civic righteousness and social advance.

## REMARKABLE GROWTH OF SOCIALISM IN BRITISH UNIVERSITIES.

WE HAVE noticed at length the rapid spread of Socialistic thought among the Church of England clergymen. Socialism is also making rapid headway in the great universities of Great Britain. A typical illustration of the rapid awakening in educational circles was afforded at the University of Edinburgh on November 21st, when G. Bernard Shaw delivered an address before an audience of about two thousand persons. Professor W. P. Patterson presided, and there were about forty professors on the platform. Mr. Shaw spoke on a program for a Socialistic party in Parliament. The address lasted an hour and a half, and at its close the great audience desired the speaker to continue longer. About thirty dollars was paid for Socialist literature at this meeting.

The *Fabian News*, which gives an account of this significant meeting, also publishes news notes that show the aggressive propaganda

work that is being carried on by the societies in the Cambridge, Glasgow, London and other leading British institutions of learning.

Many things are operating to augment the sweep of public sentiment along Socialistic lines in the Mother Country. The spirit of the age favors union or coöperation. The oppression of the masses by various privileged classes, and the remarkable growth of general intelligence among the toilers, the awakening of the church to a realization of the urgent demand for instilling the ethics of Christ into the religion of the day; and last but not least, the vigorous, persistent and on the whole wise, educational agitation carried on by Socialist bodies and leaders, are combining to bring about a revolution in the conscience-guided thought of Great Britain that presages rapid modifications, if not indeed a fundamental change, in the political conditions in Great Britain.

## MR. ROCKEFELLER'S DEMORALIZING INFLUENCE IN THE REPUBLIC.

WE HAVE often had occasion to call the attention of our readers to the masterly editorials of Mr. Louis F. Post in *The Public*, of Chicago. This writer is not only a fundamental democrat, but he is as morally courageous in facing evil conditions as he is intellectually clear-visioned in discerning basic remedies. Recently Mr. Post wrote a brief editorial under the title of "An Example to be Shunned," in which he pointed out the demoralizing influence that has resulted from Mr. Rockefeller's life and example to the American nation, in a few words that ought to be read and thought upon by every youth in the Republic.

"For a disclosure of thwarted justice," observes Mr. Post, "we are indebted to the proceedings at New York in which John D. Rockefeller participated as a witness. It might well make every right-minded person sick at heart. Like a similar attempt some years ago to drag the truth from Croker, it was sadly farcical. And Croker! Why,

he does n't compare with Rockefeller. It is doubtful if there is another man in the world to-day whose influence upon civilization has been so demoralizing. Rockefeller has lowered the moral tone of our country beyond the possibility of all the ministers his money has made to raise it; for he poses as a good man, as a benefactor, as a brotherhood-of-man sort of man; and young men looking up to him, justify to their consciences their own moral angularities by his career. If he should relinquish every dollar he has extorted, he could not restore the moral integrity of business life which he has done so much to destroy. While it is true that privilege created by law is the destructive agency which makes a Rockefeller as well as his victims possible, let us not forget that law-created privilege is made and maintained by men, and that Mr. Rockefeller not only has been, but still is at the forefront in making, perpetuating, intensifying and financially flourishing upon law-created privileges. Can any one be blamed for denouncing a man

so conspicuous as an attractive but deadly example? Let the reader who thinks so turn to the fourteenth verse of the twenty-third chapter of Matthew, and read as much more of the same chapter as seems appropriate. It is not always best to denounce persons instead of conditions, but Matthew records a good precedent for it in proper cases; and if John D. Rockefeller's is not a proper case, how can there ever be one—ay, how could there ever have been any?"

If every minister not in bonds to tainted money should read this editorial; also the passages from the Gospel of St. Matthew to which the *Public* refers, and supplement that

reading by a careful perusal of the first five verses of the fifth chapter of the Epistle of St. James, and then proclaim from his pulpit the duty of the church as pointed out by the Founder of Christianity and the New Testament writers, the result would be the awakening of the sleeping conscience of the nation in far greater degree than has resulted in a decade of revival meetings such as most churches annually resort to. So long as the church tolerates in her fellowship men who acquire fabulous wealth by means of secret rebates, law-evasion and other indirect methods, the religion of the Nazarene will be mocked in its pretended home.

#### A CLERGYMAN ON MR. ROCKEFELLER'S GRIP ON THE BAPTIST CHURCH.

IT IS encouraging to note that not a few clergymen, in most instances young men of marked ability, are taking a brave stand for sound morality and that pure and undefiled religion spoken of by the Apostle James.

In the November ARENA the Rev. John Haynes Holmes, the pastor of the largest Unitarian church in New York city, contributed one of the most thought-compelling papers ever written by a prophet-preacher, on "The Responsibility of the Churches."

In our January issue the Rev. Eliot White gave a graphic account of the remarkable growth of the Christian Socialist Fellowship, an organization which already numbers some hundreds of members among the American clergy.

In this issue an exceptionally able New England Episcopalian clergyman, the Rev. P. Gavan Duffy, considers the question "Is Modern Organized Christianity a Failure?" from the view-point of the teachings and example of the Primitive Church.

A short time since a young New England clergyman, a Baptist minister from New Hampshire, boldly protested in the New England Baptist Conference held in Boston, against his church becoming the bond-slave of John D. Rockefeller. Here is an abstract of the words of this minister, the Rev. R. A. Bateman, as given by the *Boston Herald*:

"Will the Baptist church continue to maintain an attitude of timidity when John D. Rockefeller of Standard Oil is mentioned?

"If this is so, I and a few other young men whom I know, who have n't reached the dead line yet, would like to know it. We want to do something.

"I come from a small town," said Mr. Bateman. "There are many small towns throughout this region where one corporation owns the town and owns the people, body, soul and hymn-book. And looking over our churches, taking note of the people in the pews, some of us young ministers have begun asking ourselves this question: Has n't the church somehow or other got itself bound up, hand and foot, with the money end of this proposition?

"What has stirred our people more than anything else is this nefarious Standard Oil business. The proposition confronting us is this: "Will the Baptist church prove itself the great bulwark of democracy?" I'm giving away state secrets, I know, but I'm going to tell this as an illustration. Four years ago some of us students in the Newton Theological Institution arranged a debate on the question whether institutions of the church should accept gifts from questionable sources. We received a request from the authorities of the seminary to indefinitely postpone the debate.

"The gist of my argument answered the request. My argument was that a policy of the most tender consideration was being shown toward people whom it did not seem advisable to offend for mercenary reasons. The Newton Theological Institution, I may add, had recently received a gift of \$150,000 from Mr. Rockefeller. After receiving this reply from

the debating society the governing board took a new vote and the debate went on.

"Nothing has such a nefarious influence on our church to-day as the feeling that we are in the shadow of this mammoth corporation. I want to know if we are expected to revere that old man who has a failing memory at all times except when he indulges in minute reminiscences for the benefit of his grandchildren—telling them how to become fine old gentlemen.

"What attitude is the Baptist denomination to take toward this situation? In none of our church publications have I ever seen any indictment of the Standard Oil Company or of Mr. Rockefeller, but they appear everywhere else.

"Pardon my boldness for breaking out like this. I know the man is still living. Perhaps he has another \$150,000 he may drop, or \$100,000 to give to foreign missions. And then there is the matter of bequests to be considered. Is it the attitude of this church that it won't do to tamper with this old gentleman for fear he'll get wrathy and disown us? Is this true?

"We can have, apparently, only one of two sorts of men in our churches. We can have

the men of wealth who take the attitude so often that God is needing money again, or we can have the men of toil who believe in Jesus Christ and are clean and honest. To-day they are slipping out the back door of the church unnoticed. Hundreds of thousands of them have already gone, but we have n't marked their going because they have n't got the coin. It's time to ignore the rich man and concentrate our attention on laboring men. We can afford to lose every dollar of these vast fortunes if only we can have the poor man in the church."

These are but a few of the rapidly-multiplying signs of a general spiritual renaissance throughout the Protestant churches of America. But promising as are the signs of this awakening, the hour of danger is by no means passed. Indeed, we may say, only the gray streaks of dawn are as yet visible. A grave duty devolves on all conscious-guided ministers, teachers, editors and citizens in general—that of personally combatting to the utmost the aggressions of the materialism of the market, the soul-deadening encroachments of the feudalism of organized greed and privileged wealth.

#### MR. THOMAS F. RYAN AND HIS ACQUIRED WEALTH.

THOMAS F. RYAN, whose almost fabulous fortune has been so largely acquired by methods familiar to modern high finance and rendered possible in many instances by the efficient aid and intellectual prowess of his lawyer, Elihu Root, now announces that he is going to withdraw from many business enterprises in which he has been engaged. He will keep his grip on several of the great gold mines which he has acquired in the metropolis and will also have a stud of racing horses on his Virginia estate to which he proposes to retire. Thus he will be able to vary the monotony of cutting coupons and cashing checks derived from watered stock and inflated securities with diversion with his racers.

Mr. Ryan has relieved the people of millions upon millions of dollars through control of public-service corporations which ought to have been owned and operated by the people, and through watering stocks and the manipulation of money of corporations like the Equitable Assurance Society for his own personal

enrichment. His name has gained a most unsavory reputation in connection with the street-car scandals of the metropolis and other matters that have been more or less exposed in recent years.

The *New York World* thus satirically refers to Mr. Ryan's pretended retirement from business life:

"Thomas F. Ryan pathetically announces his retirement from active business. He has sent in thirty-four resignations as director in various corporations. He says that by his doctor's advice 'I am unloading business responsibilities as rapidly as I can in justice to the interests involved.'

"All that Mr. Ryan retains is control of the Equitable Life Assurance Society, with half a billion dollars of assets; control of the Morton Trust Company, which has the underlying railway securities of Manhattan and the Bronx; control of the National Bank of Commerce, which is next to the biggest bank in the United States, and control of the American

Tobacco Company, which supplies the cigars, cigarettes, smoking and chewing tobacco to a great part of the world.

"These small interests aggregate only a little over \$1,000,000,000. That is not much more than the funded debt of the United States. These trifles, with a race-horse breeding farm added, Mr. Ryan will retain for playthings and as diversions to keep himself from being bored and the wolf from the door."

In a excellent cartoon the *World* further

emphasizes this pretended exit of the man who has fattened on wealth that under the old business ideals, under legislation which would render criminal the watering of stocks and other methods of acquiring instead of earning wealth, and under wise public-ownership such as marks the management of public utilities in various other leading nations of the world, would have gone to enrich the community and all the people, instead of making one man abnormally and dangerously rich.

### THE FUNCTION OF A STATE HEALTH DEPARTMENT.\*

NOW AND then through the maze of reports, statistics and clippings that make up the history of social progress comes a glimpse of the finished picture toward which we strive. Sometimes it shows in a colossal plan, sometimes in the faith and enthusiasm of the individual worker. Combining both, I have before me the annual report for 1907 of the New York State Board of Health, eloquent from cover to cover with the state come into its own. From theories of government we preach now this, now that, we smile indulgently at the man who advocates "paternal" measures, or we fight him, as our interests demand. Meanwhile quietly, impartially, supremely, the state comes into its own; not through theories or politics or weight of words, but because science leads the way and proves beyond opinion that such and such the state must do, only the state can do, and, not doing, courts its own destruction. In city and state alike the boards of health have advanced from mere registration functions through prohibitive legislation to constructive application.

I cannot refrain from giving Dr. Porter's own words on "The Function of a State Health Department." It is all too rarely that our public men can so clearly analyze their relation to the common life:

"In health there is liberty," said Amiel many years ago. Health is the first of all liberties, and happiness gives us the energy which is the basis of health. Emerson said in his 'Conduct of Life,' 'The first wealth is health.' We are all agreed that the greatest blessing is health, and when that is gone, all is gone.

\*State Department of Health, New York, 28th Annual Report, Eugene H. Porter, M.D., Commissioner.

"How far, then, shall the state go in its endeavor to protect and extend the public health? The fact that this question is being asked repeatedly with increasing force is significant to the students of social progress.

"The old days and the old conceptions of disease and health are passing away. The beliefs, selfish and ignorant, that human beings could be crowded into humble houses destitute of light and air, reeking with filth and swarming with vermin, to die like vermin; that men and women must work more hours each than flesh and blood could bear; that children should be dwarfed and maimed by cruel labor; that the distressed and destitute must protect themselves against not only want but against the fatal diseases caused by man's ignorance, greed and inhumanity; these beliefs are passing away. The old way has cost more lives than all the wars since Alexander and more gold than has ever been mined. Slowly the lesson has been heeded. We have been led to more general concepts and away from the limitations of earlier prejudices and antagonisms.

"In new situations vigor and enthusiasm construct a higher ethics, the practice of which elevates the plane of living. Now this drift of scientific, and to a very appreciable degree, also popular opinion, can mean but one thing. It means that sanitary science has in its process of development become a practical science and that it is now recognized as such. We have learned that if we allow our neighbor to die of plague we are likely to take passage with him across the river; that if we allow tenements of death we are exposed in turn to the Great White Plague, and that if we allow our neighbor to wallow in filth we must expect to suffer

some of the consequences. We have learned, too, that we improve society when we improve its individual members. Every expansion of human intelligence has proved of advantage to society and all the great advantages in the social condition have turned to the profit of humanity.

"Knowing these things it may be asked again, what is the duty of the state—of its health department?

"It is to prevent disease by causing the individual to do all the things he can do, and then doing for him all the things he is unable to do. A real protection of the public health may only be attained by means beyond the reach of individuals. These things belong properly to the budget of the state and should not be added to that of the family. This policy should be pursued in sanitation as it is in the extension of education.

"The citizens of the state have as much right to demand protection in health as safety from bodily violence and robbery. We all know the quick public change from an indifference regarding public health to one of frenzied apprehension in the face of an impending calamity. A little further progress and such crises would be avoided. And so, if, as Dr. Patten has said, the foundations of our very civilization have been somewhat changed, the old thought will gradually disappear—not because it is argued away, but because men's sentiments and opinions are changed by new activity and an accumulating store of fresh experiences.

"On broad lines to cause the citizen to do the things he can and ought to do, and then to do for him the things that he cannot do, but should be done, is the duty of the state, and that being interpreted means the real prevention of disease.

"And I need not speak of the remarkable advance of sanitary science in the last few decades—its victories over yellow fever, cholera, typhus fever, and plague, save to emphasize the fact that with all this advancement there have come to us new duties and increased responsibilities.

"One of the greatest of modern biologists has recently said: 'As we march onward toward the true goal of existence, mankind will lose much of its liberty but in return will gain a high measure of solidarity. The more exact and precise a science becomes the less freedom we have to neglect its lessons.' These new duties are before us, and it is only by organized, enlightened and persistent effort that we may hope to accomplish our ends."

Besides the usual vital statistics the report covers the state's traveling tuberculosis exhibit, the meeting of the sanitary officers of the state, and well-prepared reports of many special investigations, as, for instance, on pollution of streams, investigation of water-sheds, sanitary investigation of cities, of summer resorts, of all sewage-disposal plants, of all public water supplies, of eyes and ears of school children, of meat, of ice supplies, of malt beverages, and so on. The right of the state to take up these intimate matters is no longer questioned; its duty to do so is recognized. We as individuals no longer have the power to control what we eat and drink. We can choose whether to eat this or that, whether to drink this or that, but we cannot affect the wholesomeness, the quality, of either this or that. These things the state must do. Take, for instance, beer and water. We cannot analyze them, nor can we afford to have our individual drink-stuffs tested. The state can act; it can tell us in pluses and minuses just what ingredients each brand of beer has, just what qualities each kind of water possesses. Then, and then only, can we choose the good from the bad, and by emphasizing one condemn and destroy the other. So in the other fields the work of the Board roots out the evil conditions and destroys them by their own weight. To those who profit by the harmful conditions the burden is heavy, but to the average citizen—and the state is but the personification of the aggregate average citizen—the cost is infinitesimal compared with the gain, for the gain is Health and Efficient Liberty.

BRUNO BECKHARD.

## THE DEMOCRACY OF ANTI-IMPERIALISM.

AT THE annual meeting of the Anti-Imperialist League held in Boston November 30th, eloquent appeals were heard in behalf of Democracy. The speakers made it clear that the retention of "possessions" like the Philippine Islands denied its fundamental principles while the people of the "possessions" themselves were denied its fundamental rights. The secretary quoted from the address made by Señor Osmena, speaker of the Philippine Assembly, on the last day of a session which was conducted with decorum and efficiency. Señor Osmena said:

"We Filipinos desire national independence, a desire existing before our second uprising against Spain and continuing thereafter equally under the shock of arms and the segis of peace. We believe ourselves capable of ruling our own destinies. The phrase 'immediate independence,' inscribed upon the banner of the majority, is neither a new inscription nor a new ideal. 'Immediate independence' is the motto of our country to-day and her motto forever, for it incarnates and signifies her true aspiration, that aspiration which has suffered neither change nor decay and which her children through all vicissitudes and adversities, have never forgotten for a single moment: ay, not even in the moment of swearing allegiance, for that allegiance involves no repudiation of our ideals, and we believe allegiance to America still permits us to be faithful to our consciences as men and to our sacred desire for national independence.

"Permit me, gentlemen of the Chamber, to declare solemnly before God and before the world, upon my conscience as deputy and representative of my compatriots and under my responsibility as president of this Chamber, that we believe the people desire independence, that it believes itself capable of leading an orderly existence, efficient both in internal affairs and externally as one of the concert of free and civilized nations, and that we believe that if at this moment the United States should grant the suit of the Filipino people for liberty, that people, upon assuming responsibility, could discharge to the full its obligations toward itself and toward others, without detriment to liberty, to law or to justice."

A similar appeal was made at the last Lake Mohonk Conference by the resident Commiss-

sioner of the Philippine Islands, Señor Ocampo in these words:

"Returning again to the question of whether the Filipinos are fit for independence or not, a fitness which some are not prepared to acknowledge for purposes of their own, allow me to say that facts have eloquently shown and proven the capacity of my people. An evidence in support of this, and which no one would dare challenge, is the incontrovertible fact that the government established there has marched onward with conquering success. No political organization nor economic nor administrative institution has been created there that has not justified its object since the response from the natives, in whatever capacity they figured, was found to surpass expectation. New, as the system is to us, there is not a single instance which could be considered a failure by the strictest critic.

"The aspiration for independence is a general sentiment all over the islands, and the Filipinos would wish to have it to-day, were it possible; their true representative, the Philippine Assembly, through its speaker, having given expression to this general aspiration in the closing speech delivered by him in Manila, last June. This declaration, instead of presenting the popular will in the form of a resolution or a bill, as it seems logical and consistent to do, mentioned the cherished hope of final emancipation, as a goal looked forward to by the Filipinos, an ambition which is actually a religion.

"I mention this very significant fact to corroborate my former assertion that the aspiration for independence is not mere intemperance, neither is it radical nor demagogic. The way it was made public, the solemn form in which the speaker of our Assembly announced it, shows his wisdom, tact and sound judgment. And all speaks highly in favor of the fitness of my people who, calm yet filled with hope, confidently expect to obtain from the United States, without commotion, without patience, without upheavals, the verdict she will pronounce on our cause, a legitimate one in all respects."

Mr. Moorfield Storey, the president of the League, said:

"The Americans and Filipinos in the islands are not coming into closer relations, but are drawing apart, nor is anything else to be

expected. Our whole policy rests upon the assumption of our superiority. We insist that we are so much above the Filipinos that we can determine whether or not they are fit to govern themselves in their own country, and because we have decided that they are unfit we are there. It is not surprising that the Americans in the islands should share this feeling, and decline to treat the Filipinos as equal, nor is it strange that a proud people should resent such treatment. Of all civilized people we are most affected by the prejudice of color, and for that reason we are the least fit to govern men whose skin is darker than our own.

"With America desiring to be rid of the islands and the Filipinos desiring to be free, it would seem that a separation could not long be delayed. It is not possible that the first nation to proclaim that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed should long be false to its principles when they are receiving recognition in Turkey and Persia; and though it may be that for a while under President Taft our cause will seem to lose we have behind us moral and economic forces that cannot be resisted, and the 'self-evident truths' on which we stand are a rock which cannot be shaken. Meanwhile our duty is clear. We must continue the contest without faltering. We must lose no opportunity to lay the facts before our fellow-countrymen. We must point out that the policy of Mr. Taft does not mean independence, that, as he frankly admits, he hopes the Filipinos will cease to desire it, and that his measures are designed to realize this hope. We must resist every step in this policy, and so far as in us lies we must show the American people that to hold the Filipinos as our subjects against their will is wrong—politically, economically and morally wrong—that from this wrong nothing but evil can come alike to ruler and subject, oppressor and oppressed, and that as its history has abundantly shown, this nation cannot endure part free and part subject to arbitrary power. The end of the contest may come soon or late, but whether we live to see the end or not, the fight for freedom must never be abandoned."

A stirring address was made by the Hon. Thomas Mott Osborne, former mayor of Auburn, New York, and now one of the Public Service Commissioners of that state, in which he said:

"To keep the islands for the mere sake of increasing our territory is silly; to keep them for the purpose of robbing them of their wealth

is wicked. There remains one other consideration along this line, for there is wealth also to be secured without robbery—the wealth comes from honest, legitimate trade. If there were time this point is worthy of development at length; but I must simply point out that the wealth of commerce—the honest wealth that comes to both sides through the natural exchange of commodities—can be just as well carried on and better with a friend as with a master. When Massachusetts was an unwilling dependency of England she refused to trade with the mother country; when the United States was at war with England in 1814 Massachusetts almost severed the union rather than give up her trade with her old enemy. You cannot gain or secure the blessings of trade by issuing orders to dependencies, or even by treaties; for trade is done between individuals for the benefit of both parties and you cannot force individuals to trade where they do not wish to. Trade will be far better between the United States and the Philippines if the latter are set free, than if they are unwillingly held; especially if our absurd tariff wall were broken down so as to allow of natural and free interchange of commodities. At present we hold fast the islands to obstruct trade; could anything be more hopelessly futile and illogical?

"Next we come to the arguments based upon nobler grounds—the welfare of the Filipinos; and the point is urged that we must maintain our rule over the islands because they are unable to uphold a government of their own. If we should withdraw, anarchy would ensue. The first answer is that we have no right to assume anything of the kind; the second is that even anarchy is to be preferred to tyranny. So the anarchy argument fails whether looked at from the historical or the ethical point-of-view. As an historical fact what we mean by anarchy in this case—serious social confusion—has been again and again the outward evidence of deep-seated movements which result in the formulation of some system of government best fitted for the time and circumstances. Never yet in the world's history has one nation been ultimately successful in forcing upon another its own civilization and ideals. We can only warp, distort, or destroy a tree or we can aid its growth and development; but we cannot make it grow. The principle of life is in the tree—and in the ground about it—in the sunshine and the air; we can only assist the processes of nature, we cannot substitute our own. The Philippines are entitled to their

own form of development be it what we call anarchy or progress. Japan has shown what freedom from outside interference can do when a nation has within itself the germs of growth. Perhaps the Filipino has the same God-like faculty. Let us beware how we assume that he has it not and crush down, warp or distort the purposes of God.

"Next we are told that we must hold the islands to prevent them being seized upon by some other power—Great Britain, Germany or Japan. This argument is no less flimsy than the others. One might begin by hazarding the suggestion that if it's a question of the Filipinos being held in subjection by some one, perhaps the inhabitants might prefer to choose their guardian; possibly they would gain by the rule of Japan or Great Britain rather than 'benevolent assimilation' by the United States. Why should we assume that our particular rule is so necessary to the Philippines? Has it spared war and bloodshed? Does it satisfy the people of the islands? Have we been so successful in perfecting the details of our own form of government that we are justified in deciding upon those for other people? And if these are answered satisfactorily there still remains the fact that nothing could be simpler than to take the Philippines under our protection and say to every nation in the world, 'Hands off!' It would be as easy to protect the islands in the character of a generous and unselfish friend as in that of an imperious over-lord, and perhaps easier. Our attitude toward Cuba convicts of ridiculous inconsistency out of hand.

"Next comes the argument that it is our duty to civilize and educate the inhabitants of the islands; with or without the implied admission that they are to be set free some time or other. If the true education of a people consists in material things—in good roads, fine bridges, uniformed police—all those wonderful evidences of administrative efficiency such as are to be seen in India, for example, then I grant that it can probably be produced in the Philippines under our rule much quicker than by home rule; a veneer of civilization under imperialism is comparatively easy to produce—there were no sights more impressive than the relics of Roman government of old or of British imperialism of to-day—but was not that the very kind of civilization which our ancestors spurned when they threw away the comforts and refinements of English sovereignty? Education of a sort can be forced wherever you have

the power—there are no places in the world so offensively and tragically clean as your prisons; but is that the education we demand for our own children? or would accept even at the point of the bayonet? What business have we to go to the other side of the globe, to a land where by accident we have the power, and say, 'These are our ideas of what is good for you; and we propose to civilize and educate you according to these ideas. It makes no difference what you want or do not want—what you like or dislike—we propose to decide for you. You must submit—because we are stronger than you, and can beat you and, if necessary, will beat you into submission.' England has been trying this sort of thing in India for over a hundred years; and doing it much better than we can ever hope to do it. Is it a success? India is seething with discontent; the viceroy has recently had to abandon his trip of inspection and has returned under a heavy guard to Calcutta; in the different provinces bombs are being hurled at the chief officials, and murders are becoming alarmingly frequent; native newspapers are being suspended and suppressed. On all sides it is agreed that never since the great mutiny has the situation been so serious. Yet—irony of fate!—the Secretary of State for India in the British cabinet is John Morley! Can we do more for the Philippines than Great Britain has done for India? No—and yes. We cannot hope to excel her in excellent administration; for we are a democracy while England is an imperial aristocracy, but at the end of a term of years we may perhaps bring about something approaching the efficiency and excellence of the Indian government and with the same results—a discontented population on the verge of a violent outbreak, against its unselfish and well-meaning oppressors.

"But we can if we choose do more—much more than England has done for India; we can make the people of the Philippines a free people; we can make ourself their loyal and devoted friend; opening our ports to reciprocal trade; offering every help in our power toward high ideals and high accomplishment—and giving the most efficient help possible in setting a great example. The way to do this is to withdraw our army and establish independence; and the time to do it is, not a century hence, nor a generation hence, not ten years nor five, but now, straightway, the sooner the better. Every moment of delay is fraught with injustice to the Philippines and danger to ourselves."

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

## PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP NEWS.

BY BRUNO BECKHARD,  
Of the Bureau of Civic and Industrial Research.

**Municipal Ownership and The Water and Light Problem.**

OF THE 158 cities of over 30,000 covered by the census report of 1906, 117 owned and operated their water-works. All but three of these cities showed an excess of receipts over expenditures for their plants, and in one of these three the plant did not supply the city proper but merely one of the villages taken over by the city. The total revenue from these plants was \$51,922,865.

The value of all the public-utilities properties operated by the cities was \$836,522,737. The outstanding indebtedness on their account was \$469,479,255, so that these cities have earned from revenue nearly half the cost of their industrial plants.

The 1907 report of the Massachusetts State Board of Health adds the following figures in regard to the commonwealth. There the water-works are owned by the municipalities in all the cities (33) and 106 of the towns, while in 46 towns the works are owned by private companies. Only 6.2 per cent. of the urban population of the state live in the towns that have private plants.

With San Francisco and New Orleans building their own water-works the "issue" of public-ownership of water-works in large cities goes out of existence. Here and there are still some private water companies, but every city in the country of over 100,000 population has its own plant and is making it pay. In the smaller towns the fight goes on, but there, too, the end can be foreseen.

In lighting we have not progressed so far—and that is curious when one remembers that light as a public service is so very much more intimate than water. We can get along with out water in every house if must be, can rely entirely on a common supply. But the common supply of light is insignificant. We must have light to work with, we must have light in every room, and always at our command. Light—and, of course, power, too—is one of the elements of our industrial pace, one of the factors in the number of hours the day possesses. Why in a civilized community water

should be publicly owned and light left to private exploitation is indeed difficult to understand.

Moreover, in the majority of cases the two are inseparable. A water source is a power source, and the latter must, for the sake of the former, be controlled by public authority. As a health measure and as a business measure the city must control its waterways for both water and power purposes. Such ridiculous situations as that in Chicago where the city under one name drives itself out of business under another name serve simply to bring the whole matter clearly before us. The experience of cities that own their water but sell their water rights to individuals give us daily proof of the necessity of recognizing the great value of the possession of water-power. And as these various inconsistencies gradually reduce themselves to the inevitable absurdity, the relation of light and water will come out more and more clearly, and the private ownership of lighting like the private ownership of water will take its place in the past.

**Baltimore, Maryland.**

THERE was considerable press comment last spring—with a curious sameness of phrase—about the failure of the "Municipal Lighting Plant" of Baltimore. This "plant" in the cellar of the city hall was used to light that building and the court house. The chief point mentioned was that a private company was willing to do for \$7,500 what the city had done for \$30,000. This looked like a reduction in taxes—and a beautiful example. The latter it surely was, for hardly a month after this enthusiasm the private lighting company raised the minimum price of electricity so that the small dealer and householder had to pay ten cents per Kw. instead of from two and a half to seven cents. Could anything be simpler? Only one thing, the result. Baltimore is now seeking to build a lighting plant of its own to be operated by the water-power at the dam of the city's new water-works on the Gunpowder river.

**An Indiana Report.**

THE EXTRACTS given below are taken from the report of the city controller of Richmond, Indiana, Mr. Webster Parry.

"The subject of municipal ownership of lighting plants, so far as this city is concerned, was so fully covered by former reports of the city controller that it might seem useless at this time to do more than give the figures showing receipts and expenditures, were it not that up to this time the failure of the municipal light plant in the city of Richmond is heralded and advertised by the Electric-Light Trust and newspapers which are, from principle or money interests the enemies of municipal ownership of public utilities. Therefore, I shall again attempt to so analyze the conditions and figures as to make plain to every reader the falsity of such reports. . . .

"During the past year a strong competition has been waged by our competitor, by which patrons of the city plant who were large consumers of electricity have been offered prices, or have been allowed to name their own prices, admittedly so low as to be less than the cost of manufacture. Such prices have in no cases been met by the municipal plant, the Board of Works who have it in charge believing it not only unbusinesslike, but also unjust to other patrons, to meet the competition. Although the patronage of some of our large consumers has thus been taken from us, the loss has been much more than made up by others who have without solicitation come to us because of their loyalty to the city and its interests.

"Also a campaign of misrepresentation has been carried on for the purpose of causing distrust, dissension and suspicion in the minds of our citizens against the municipal light plant and its management, and the Electric-Light Plant Trust, through its local representatives, went so far as to propose and urge that they furnish experts at their own expense to investigate and tinker with the city's light plant and its books sufficiently to show that the municipal plant, as well as its competitor, is losing money. All readers of this have doubtless noticed that every 'expert' witness in court is *expert* enough to make out a plausible case for his employer, however plainly the facts show the opposite to be true, hence the disinterested fairness of the proposition did not appeal to the Board of Works, nor so far as we can hear, to the citizens generally.

"But notwithstanding all this, the business of the municipal electric-lighting and power

plant is in the most prosperous condition of its history, as I think the detailed statements accompanying this will prove.

"January 1, 1907, the city light plant had 1,731 patrons, and January 1, 1908, there were 2,083, a net increase of 342, or a trifle more than 20 per cent., which was accomplished without a solicitor being in the field at any time during the year.

"On January 1, 1907, the municipal plant owed the city for money advanced, \$190,776.01, of which amount \$144,000 was evidenced by the city's 4 per cent. bonds, leaving a balance due the city for cash advanced from the general fund, \$46,776.01.

"During 1907 the city paid for operating expenses, interest and betterments, \$79,761.34, making a total of \$126,537.35, from which we deduct the year's receipts, \$72,956.94, leaving a balance due the city on account of \$53,580.41, which is but \$6,804.40 more than one year ago, notwithstanding almost \$23,000 was paid during the year for extensions to the original plant.

"The gross receipts of the plant for 1907 were \$9,768.16 greater than in 1906, an increase of more than 15 per cent., while from commercial business alone the increase was \$9,469.26, a gain of more than 23 per cent.

"It is well known that the light plant was built to meet local conditions well-nigh intolerable at the time, and *not* as an investment of the city's funds, but, looking at it as an investment alone, it should be satisfactory to any of our capitalists or taxpayers. There was probably never a time when the city had more money invested in the plant than January 1, 1905, when the books showed a debt of \$212,470.52. If we take this as a basis and add the amount spent in 1907 for construction, new equipments and extensions, \$34,832.57, we have an investment on which the city has earned a profit of:

Gross receipts.....	\$72,956.94
Less operating expenses.....	44,928.77
Net.....	\$28,028.17

which is more than 11 per cent. Or, we may deduct 5 per cent. for depreciation and still have left more than enough to pay a dividend of 7 per cent. on a capitalization of \$247,000 after paying bond interest and setting aside over \$10,000 as a sinking fund.

"The real cost of lighting the city's streets is found by deducting the receipts from all other sources from the operating expenses, including

interest, insurance, etc., but one year ago, in order to be over-conservative, we added to this the entire amount of construction expenses chargeable to the original plant and then added 5 per cent. for depreciation. Taking this overly-conservative plan at this time we get the following results:

Operating expenses.....	\$44,928.77
Construction.....	11,901.42
Depreciation.....	10,623.53
 Total.....	 \$67,453.72
Less receipts.....	50,851.32

Leaving a balance of..... \$16,602.40

which, being divided by the average number of arc-lights, gives us \$4.70 as the real outside cost per arc-light per month, for lighting our streets, for an all-night schedule, as against \$7.50 charged the city before the municipal plant was installed, after deducting for depreciation, a sum entirely unwarranted under the existing circumstances, when construction expenses are figured in with the operating expenses.

"I have tried herein to give you a full and true report of the business of the municipal light plant for the year 1907 and of its condition at this time, and have in no instance made it more glowing than the figures demanded, and I confidently believe that no unprejudiced citizen who reads this can fail to be satisfied that nothing but gross mismanagement of the plant from this time can cause it to be the failure so falsely claimed by its enemies, whether they be the Light Plant Trust or the local press."

#### *Collingswood, New Jersey.*

THE PEOPLE of Collingswood, New Jersey, are the latest victims of the Jersey hold-up game. The town voted strongly in favor of public-ownership, and now the water committee of the council wants to give the water company a new contract. There is apparently something in the political conditions of the state which fosters this form of prostitution. The Recall will soon be a necessity in the Trust State.

#### **Notes.**

THE GOVERNMENT during the financial year ending June 30, 1908, made a profit of \$10,-541,371 on the coinage of silver, nickels and one-cent pieces.

THE NEW constitution of Michigan allows the cities of that state to finance their public utilities by certificates of indebtedness against the property purchased and the revenue derived from it. This relieves these plants from complication with the problem of the city debt limit and puts them on an independent basis.

It is reported that the Canadian government is considering the Public-Ownership of grain elevators.

CHICAGO is following the lead of New York in recognizing public health as a form of property which demands protection. The police in the Windy City will hereafter coöperate with the Health Board in the active work of preventing the spread of contagious diseases.

THE CITY of Freudenburg, Germany, according to the *Boston Post*, has no taxes. All its income is derived from the sale of its franchises and of the wood in its municipal forest.

#### **Postal Reform.**

OUR FRIENDS who are seeking reform in the postal service should include in their program some measure reducing the cost of sending out public documents. Department reports should at the very least go as second-class mail matter. Publicity is desirable for these institutions but is at present an expensive luxury. Many small towns and departments refrain from publishing reports on account of the postage expense. Circulation should be free in the territory immediately concerned in a report, just as the privately-owned county papers are delivered free in the county they cover.

BRUNO BECKHARD.

## DIRECT-LEGISLATION NEWS.

BY ROBERT E. BISBEE, A.M.,  
Secretary of the Massachusetts Referendum League.

## Missouri.

THE FOLLOWING is a copy of the Missouri Direct-Legislation amendment, adopted November 3, 1908, by a majority of 35,868:

"Article IV., section 1. The legislative authority of the state shall be vested in a legislative assembly, consisting of a senate and house of representatives, but the people reserve to themselves power to propose laws and amendments to the constitution, and to enact or reject the same at the polls, independent of the legislative assembly, and also reserve power at their own option to approve or reject at the polls any act of the legislative assembly. The first power reserved by the people is the initiative, and not more than eight per cent. of the legal voters in each of at least two-thirds of the Congressional districts in the state shall be required to propose any measure by such petition and every such petition shall include the full text of the measure as proposed. Initiative petitions shall be filed with the secretary of state not less than four months before the election at which they are to be voted upon.

"The second power is the referendum, and it may be ordered (except as to laws necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health or safety, and laws making appropriations for the current expenses of the state government, for the maintenance of the state institutions and for the support of the public schools), either by the petition signed by five per cent. of the legal voters in each of at least two-thirds of the Congressional districts in the state, or by the legislative assembly, as other bills are enacted. Referendum petitions shall be filed with the secretary of state not more than ninety days after the final adjournment of the session of the legislative assembly which passed the bill on which the referendum is demanded.

"The veto power of the governor shall not extend to measures referred to the people. All elections on measures referred to the people of the state shall be had at the biennial regular general elections, except when the legislative assembly shall order a special election. Any

measure referred to the people shall take effect and become the law when it is approved by a majority of the votes cast thereon, and not otherwise. The style of all bills shall be: 'Be it enacted by the people of the state of Missouri.'

"This section shall not be construed to deprive any member of the legislative assembly of the right to introduce any measure. The whole number of votes cast for justice of the Supreme Court at the regular election last preceding the filing of any petition for the initiative or for the referendum, shall be the basis on which the number of legal voters necessary to sign such petition shall be counted. Petitions and orders for the initiative and for the referendum shall be filed with the secretary of state, and in submitting the same to the people he, and all other officers shall be guided by the general laws and the act submitting this amendment, until legislation shall be especially provided therefor."

The remarks of Dr. William Preston Hill at the banquet tendered to him by the Missouri Referendum League on December 2d, answer so well questions repeatedly asked, that the main points he made are hereby noted.

He said in part: "The referendum idea has been slowly taking possession of the American people. Eight states have now adopted this great measure of self-government and it is knocking at the gates of twenty more. It has swept from Oregon to Maine, and the reason is that the people have lost faith in the integrity and efficiency of our state legislatures. They have been disgusted with the corruption which has prevailed in our political life and now they realize that you cannot intrust uncontrolled power in the hands of the average man without having it abused. They know, too, that it is useless to simply change the men in the office; that it is the system itself, the real source of corruption, that must be changed. For this reason they are adopting the Initiative and Referendum, for they have found that if they want good government they must attend to it themselves."

Apparently the free-bridge delay was in the

mind of Mr. Hill when he flayed the habit many officials have of refusing to take action on the most pressing needs of the people, who rule as despots over those whose votes put them into office, those who must endure the tyranny until the term of office expires.

"In the face of this the people of Missouri are now to be congratulated. In the Initiative and Referendum they have the instrument of a peaceful evolution, which is a guarantee of peace, security, law and order."

Newspapers in St. Louis that have attacked the Initiative and Referendum and are predicting that it won't work were referred to by the speaker. He said these before the election had predicted the defeat of the measure and that that prediction was on a par with their present prophecies. These papers, he said, forgot, apparently, that our legislatures have made mistakes and they want to deny the people the right to make their own mistakes.

"And if the people do make a mistake they will never do it intentionally, but a compact majority of the legislature may themselves benefit by a mistake which they made at the expense of the whole people. Now, however, the people of Missouri will be able to correct speedily any mistakes which they or their legislatures may make."

Dr. Hill answered the assertion that with the new measure every Tom, Dick and Harry who have a supposed grievance would demand a vote of the people by saying that the requisite petition signed by 56,000 voters from two-thirds of the state would make this impossible. The referendum fight had given the League representation in every precinct of the state.

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#### Maine.

THE PEOPLE of Maine seem determined to make their newly-acquired powers effective. The following is a letter that is being sent to the various senators and representatives elect of the state:

"Dear sir:

"At the September election the people adopted the Initiative and Referendum amendment to the state Constitution, giving the people the right to initiate laws upon petitions and to refer enacted statutes to popular ballot upon petitions.

"The State Referendum League believes that there is a popular demand for the enactment of a corrupt practices act to eliminate the use of money and intoxicating liquors at elec-

tions; the enactment of a direct-primaries law, to include the popular expression on the election of United States Senators; and the enactment of a reform ballot law.

"At a recent meeting of the State Referendum League it was voted to ask the members-elect of the next legislature to define their attitude upon each of the above measures, and this letter is sent to you for that purpose. The League recognizes the paramount truth that the state legislature is the proper source for all legislation as the representative body of the people. Whenever the legislature does not respond to popular demands, however, the Initiative and Referendum is the power to be applied as the proper remedy. The people of Maine are entitled to as wise statutes as are the people of any state, and the legislature should be the source of such laws as are mentioned above. If the disposition of a majority of the members-elect is in favor of giving these three measures favorable consideration next winter, there is no call for any movement to use the Initiative; but, if it is evident from the replies received, that no favorable action to purify politics, to give the power to nominate candidates for public offices to the people direct, and to provide a form of ballot that will reduce disfranchisements to the minimum, then it is plain that the Initiative should be invoked that the standard of government may be raised in Maine to equal the best known.

"A meeting of the League is to be held within a short time in Augusta when we shall take up these important matters for discussion and to determine just what part we may need to take in securing laws of general benefit to the people. We ask that at that time we may have some expression of your views respecting, first, the need of legislation of this character; second, which of the three measures suggested stands first in your opinion; third, if you will be able to give thought and time to the especial bill covering the reform measure or measures selected. It should be plainly understood that no correspondence will be considered as confidential. Among the membership of the State Referendum League are enrolled men of all political parties, and the only interest the organization has in this subject is to secure wise legislation."

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#### Michigan.

THE FOLLOWING statements concerning the revision of Michigan's state Constitution are extracted from a communication by its special

staff correspondent to the Newark (New Jersey) *News*:

"The women's suffrage provision in the new document does n't give women the same right to vote that the men have. A general suffrage clause was proposed in the convention, but defeated, and the only chance Michigan women will have to go to the polls now will be when a referendum is taken on some question of appropriations or other expenditure of public money which may affect the taxes on their property. Women who have no property won't have any vote."

"The Initiative and Referendum provision in the new Constitution is about as feeble an imitation of Direct-Legislation as the female-suffrage provision is of the vote for women. For nearly a month the convention members wrangled over this feature. It was strenuously urged that Michigan should follow the example of Oregon, North Dakota, Missouri and Maine, write into the Constitution a method by which legislation and constitutional amendments could be initiated by popular petition, passed by a popular vote at the polls when the legislature refused to act, and give the electorate of the state an opportunity to veto by popular vote such unpopular acts as the legislature might pass. The ultra-conservatives and politicians in the convention, however, finally defeated this proposition and then tried to satisfy public sentiment, which was very strong for the Initiative and Referendum, by adopting a compromise plan. This compromise is a little the queerest bit of constitutional machinery yet devised.

"It will now be possible to secure amendment of the Constitution by initiative petition in Michigan, but not to secure the enactment of statutory law by the same method. The legislature continues absolute in the making of statutes, and can submit to a vote any sort of proposed amendment to the Constitution it sees fit. The people may petition the legislature to submit a constitutional amendment. Petitions of this sort must be signed by twenty per cent. of the voters of the state. After the petition is filed the legislature may submit the question or not, as it pleases. If the amendment petitioned for is approved by the legislature it goes to the people for approval. If the legislature disapproves that is the end of it. When an amendment is proposed by initiative petition and approved by the legislature it goes to a vote of the people at the next general election, and becomes a part of the Constitution, if the total vote in its favor

amounts to one-third of the total number of votes cast for any office in the election. If an amendment is submitted by the legislature, without having been petitioned for, it requires only a majority of the votes cast for and against it to decide its fate.

#### "THE REFERENDUM PROVISION.

"About as funny is the referendum provision adopted. Referendum advocates in the convention urged that no bills excepting emergency measures, should become law until thirty days after their passage, and should be referred to a popular vote for approval or veto if within that time the people petitioned for a referendum on any measure or part of a measure. Instead of this, the convention provided that the legislature may tack a referendum clause on any measure it pleases, and that bills so equipped with a referendum provision shall not go into effect until after the vote is taken. In brief, the Michigan legislature continues to be absolute in making statutory law. The people may petition for constitutional amendments, and the legislature will decide whether or not amendments so petitioned for shall be submitted to a vote, while the legislature may provide for a referendum on any measure it pleases.

"The constitutional provision for municipal ownership and operation of utilities by cities and villages is a part of a rather broad-gauge policy adopted as to municipal government. All legislation providing for the government of townships, villages and cities is to be general. There are to be no special charters and no special acts affecting municipal government. The legislature is to limit the rate of taxation for municipal purposes and to restrict the powers of the municipalities in borrowing money. Otherwise the municipalities are to conduct their own affairs about as they please, subject to the Constitution and general laws of the state."

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#### Notes.

THE *Examiner*, of Chicago, has the following comments on the necessity of the referendum in order to save the cities from being overwhelmed with debt:

"If Chicago is to escape the debt-ridden fate of New York and Boston it will only be by the submission of new public debts to a popular vote. Once remove the 'lid' on bond issues and the tax-eaters will do the rest.

"Let everybody admit that Chicago needs more money for public improvements. That

does not argue against the referendum, but rather for it. The public can be trusted to sanction all outlays that are unmistakably for the public good.

"The wiser heads among the new charter-framers are probably aware that hostility to the referendum merely tends to render the whole work of charter-framing nugatory, as before. It is little more than a year since a majority of Chicago's voters rejected a carefully-drafted charter. They did so mainly because the loopholes for extravagant bond issues and decreased taxation were glaring.

"The mere fact that last year's charter sprung a leak at the polls is probably one of the best arguments for the referendum. This year's amended charter will also have to abide by the popular verdict. It should at least be made seaworthy if it is hoped to escape the rocks.

"It is a libel on Chicago's taxpayers to say they are indifferent to public improvements. All they demand is the veto power on extravagance in the interest of politics-ridden administrations.

"The referendum insures this veto power, and is here to stay."

THE vote at the general election in Lincoln, Nebraska, on the adoption of the commission plan of city government carried by a plurality of 3,500. This plan is in force in Galveston and in Des Moines and has been very satisfactory in those cities.

THE LAST legislature passed an act submitting to the people of Alabama, to be voted on at the general election to be held November 3d, an amendment to the present constitution, commonly called the "New Counties" amendment. The sole effect of this amendment is to change the method of determining whether or not a new county shall be formed. Under the existing conditions the question is left to a two-thirds vote of the legislature, while under the amendment it is decided by a vote of the people.

THE common council of San Jose, California, has called a special election for the purpose of submitting to the electors nineteen questions, among them the Initiative, the Referendum and the Recall.

THE American Federation of Labor is committed to the principle of the Initiative and Referendum. This Federation has grown in a dozen years from a membership of 264,825 to a membership of 1,586,885. It has affiliated

with it 116 international unions representing as many crafts, and including 28,700 subordinate local unions. In addition, there are 583 local unions under the direct administration of the federation, these being composed of scattered trades not yet organized into national unions. The local unions are coördinated into central labor unions in the cities, and into state federations and these bodies are also affiliated with the national federation. During the past year the federation has expended an income of approximately \$200,000.

THE FIRST use of the Initiative and Referendum in Missouri may be on the liquor question. An organization formed in St. Louis December 3d will appeal to the Missouri legislature to submit a prohibition constitutional amendment to the voters of the state in 1910. If the legislature refuses to do this, the association plans to circulate a petition for a prohibitory law under the Initiative and Referendum plan.

DECEMBER 5th at Washington, D. C., Governor George E. Chamberlain, of Oregon, who attended the conference of governors, called at the White House to pay his respects to President Roosevelt. In the presence of several representative citizens Mr. Roosevelt grasped the governor's hand and said:

"I am glad to meet you, Governor Chamberlain and Senator-to-be. While I would have preferred to have seen a Republican Senator from Oregon, yet as you are the people's choice I want to see you elected. I believe in the people's rule." \*

#### Steps Toward Pure Democracy.

1897. Iowa applied referendum to all franchise grants.

1897. Nebraska made Initiative and Referendum optional in cities.

1898. South Dakota adopted Initiative and Referendum amendment.

1900. Utah adopted amendment, for which legislature has never passed enabling act.

1901. Illinois passed public-policy law providing for advisory referendum.

1902. Oregon by constitutional amendment secured an effective form of the Initiative and Referendum.

1903. Los Angeles, California, applied Initiative and Referendum to municipal affairs.

1905. Nevada by constitutional amendment adopted the referendum.

\*Statement by George H. Shibley, to whom Governor Chamberlain related the meeting the next morning after it took place.

1905. Grand Rapids, Michigan, applied Initiative and Referendum to municipal affairs.

1906. Montana adopted Initiative and Referendum amendment.

1906. Delaware by popular vote instructed legislature to provide for the Initiative and Referendum.

1906. Nebraska gives to cities power to adopt Initiative and Referendum, which has been quite generally accepted.

1906. Des Moines, Iowa, adopts Initiative, Referendum and Recall in connection with commission plan of government.

1907. Cedar Rapids, Iowa, adopts Initiative, Referendum and Recall.

1907. 1. Oklahoma placed Initiative and Referendum in the constitution to be submitted to the people.

2. Maine legislature voted to submit an Initiative and Referendum amendment.

3. Missouri legislature voted to submit an Initiative and Referendum amendment.

4. North Dakota legislature voted to submit an Initiative and Referendum amendment. This must be passed on by another legislature before it can be submitted to the people.

5. Delaware legislature placed the Initiative and Referendum in the charter of Wilmington.

1908. 1. June 1st, the people of Oregon

demonstrated the people's ability to legislate more clearly than was ever done before by voting very discriminately upon nineteen measures, four being amendments to the Constitution, four measures referred to the people by petition, and eleven measures initiated by petition.

2. September 15th, the people of Maine adopted a Direct-Legislation amendment to their constitution by a vote of over two to one, in spite of influential opposition.

3. November 3d, Missouri adopted a Direct-Legislation amendment to the Constitution by a majority of 35,868, though it was disadvantageously placed on the ballot. Four years ago this same amendment was defeated in Missouri by a majority of over 53,000.

4. Ohio adopts Referendum in regard to franchise in cities.

5. Numerous minor victories for Direct-Legislation, and demonstrations of the efficacy of Direct-Legislation resulted from the November 3d elections.

6. Movement started in Ontario and other provinces in Canada for Initiative and Referendum.

7. Movement started in England for Initiative and Referendum, headed by committee of most influential citizens.

*Query: What will 1909 bring forth? Let us all work for greater and more numerous victories for the people during 1909.*

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

## INDUSTRIAL COÖPERATION.

BY HAZEL HAMMOND ALBERTSON.

The Right-Relationship League's Co-operative Wholesale Store.

REPRESENTATIVES from 72 Right-Relationship League stores, nearly all of which are within 100 miles of Minneapolis, Minnesota, met in conference in October and voted to establish a co-operative wholesale store from which the smaller stores might draw their supplies. The combined membership of these stores is about 5,000, and all of these members have subscribed for a \$100 share of stock, and the majority have already paid for their share. This makes an actual capital of \$500,000. The sales of these stores are at present about \$50,000 a month, or \$600,000 a year. Twenty-six new stores have been organ-

ized and started since the conference which was held by the League in January of last year, and the work is steadily progressing. There have been no failures. Two stores have been turned back to their former owners. A large percentage of the stores are earning ten per cent. on purchases, besides interest on capital. Nearly all of the stores have adopted the plan of having their books audited by the official auditor of the League, and this has been so satisfactory that it is to be continued, and most of the new organizations now desire it from the first. With but one or two exceptions these stores carry general stock, and the value of the goods carried averages from \$6,000 to \$15,000.

The by-laws of the new wholesale company

provide that the name shall be "The Interstate Common Good Company," shall be located in Minneapolis, and shall do a general wholesale business in the merchandise used by the stores and in the produce taken in by them, and also manufacturing. To quote from the League's report: "There is a board of seven directors. There are two hundred shares of \$50 each, which shall be increased to five hundred shares when the two hundred have been taken up and more stores apply. Only stores which are organized on the plan of the Right-Relationship League who subscribe for the twenty shares and agree to buy all their goods from the wholesale shall be admitted as shareholders. Each shareholder shall have only one vote, regardless of the amount paid up. Any company wishing to sell any or all of its shares must first give ninety days' option to the wholesale. There shall be the usual officers with the usual powers. The president, secretary and treasurer shall constitute a finance committee who shall through the manager carry on the active business. There shall be an auditor elected at the annual meeting by the stockholders, and he shall audit the accounts and business quarterly and send a printed report to all shareholders.

"The manager shall have active charge of the business, and he shall give a personal bond in an amount equal to twenty-five per cent. of the average value of the assets, conditioned that he account properly for all the cash, notes, merchandise and other property that comes under his control. All merchandise shall be charged to the manager's account at its selling price, and he must account for either the goods or the money proceeds at the full selling price.

"Meetings of the board of directors shall be held quarterly. The business is to start immediately, or as soon as a manager and location are found, and it shall at first consist in assembling and consolidating the wants of the stores and buying from factories or others at first hand. As soon as the business and paid-in capital warrant, a store-room shall be taken.

"Each shareholder shall pay \$4 per month toward expenses, the intention being that all shareholders shall contribute to the expenses, whether they buy much or little.

"An inventory shall be taken quarterly, and from the profits shown shall be paid a quarterly dividend of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on the capital;  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. shall be written off from the value of fixtures,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. on machinery and

buildings; 5 per cent. of the profits shall be set aside for education and propaganda; 10 per cent. for a surplus, and the remainder shall be apportioned as dividend in proportion to purchases, non-stockholders receiving half-dividends. Coöperative stores and other stores who are not local competitors of the share-holding stores shall be entitled to buy on the same terms as shareholders, but are entitled to half-dividends only.

"Goods shall be bought exclusively for cash, and shall be sold at the market prices for cash within ten days of shipment.

"The directors may receive deposits and loans from shareholding companies and their members, not exceeding the amount of paid-up capital and surplus, and at interest not exceeding 6 per cent., and they may borrow from other sources at market rates of interest an amount not exceeding the paid-up capital and surplus.

"Applicants for shares may be accepted upon the approval of the president and secretary."

#### Notes From The County Co-operatives of The Right-Relationship League.

THE FIRST store of the Juneau County Coöperative Company which was organized by the Right-Relationship League in January, 1908, at Wonewoc, Wisconsin, paid a 7 per cent. dividend on its first six months' sales. During that period they sold \$13,654 worth of merchandise, and \$4,250 worth of produce. The net profit for the six months was \$788. To the members of the organization they paid also 6 per cent. on purchases, and to non-members 3 per cent.

THE COÖPERATIVE store at Sun Prairie, Wisconsin, one of the Dane County Coöperative Company's stores, made a net profit last year of \$2,275, sufficient to pay 6 per cent. interest on investment and 10 per cent. purchase dividend to members. A new store of 80 members was added to this company at Stoughton in October. Stoughton is a manufacturing city of about 5,000 people. Its chief industry is the manufacturing of wagons, and its two factories furnish employment to about 1,500 people, a number of whom are interested in the new coöperative store.

IN A LETTER from the manager of the Chippewa Valley Coöperative Company of Wisconsin he says, in regard to the progress which the coöperative store at Durand has made:

"Our members are well satisfied and we have had three members take out shares since our annual meeting without solicitation. In nine months we sold merchandise to the amount of \$15,183. Our running expenses were ten per cent., and we paid eight per cent. interest on stock and a purchase dividend of seven per cent. on trade. Our net profits were \$925. Five per cent. went to promotion fund, five five per cent. to reserve, and five per cent. to fixture fund. We have 64 members. Since our annual meeting we have taken in a branch store with twenty-one members, all paid in cash, and are doing one-third more business in our store here."

THREE new stores have been added to the Otter Tail County Coöperative Company, Minnesota, making four in all. The company was organized at Wall Lake in April, 1908, and has now a total of 189 members. The second store organized at Underwood, Minnesota, started out with 73 members. They bought one of the local businesses formerly owned by O. F. Loseth & Son, and the junior member of the firm, Odin Loseth, became manager of the coöperative company. The third store was organized at Weggeland, which is about nine miles from Fergus Falls. Its members are composed largely of Scandinavians and Germans. The fourth at Phelps, Minnesota, started with 47 members.

THE coöperative store at Stillwater, Minnesota, organized under the Right-Relationship League in March, 1907, has made a good record during its first period of existence. At the end of the first year there were 126 members, an increase of 84. In September of 1908 the business transacted amounted to \$2,350 while the business for the first month of organization was \$1,150. They have recently taken over the general merchandise stock of one of the oldest Stillwater merchants, and as is so often the case with these stores, the former owner will remain as manager of the coöperative store.

THE Scott County Coöperative Company has added another new store to its list, making four stores in all. This store is situated at Bongards, Minnesota, and the members are chiefly Germans. They elected officers for the year, purchased the general merchandise stock of one of the local merchants which was valued at \$5,000, and leased a store building for a period of three years.

A CO-OPERATIVE creamery which has been

reorganized at Triumph, Minnesota, under the Right-Relationship League plan, reports an increased membership from 48 to 71. The creamery belongs to the Martin County Coöperative Company.

A SECOND store was added to the Lyon County Coöperative Company at Russell, Minnesota, in July. The merchandise stocks of two small stores were purchased.

#### The League at The State Fair.

AT THE Minnesota State Fair which was held in September, the Right-Relationship League had a large tent known as the "Coöperators' Rest Tent," which was visited by hundreds of people. They sent out this invitation to all coöperators:

"Yourself and friends are invited to call at the Coöperators' Rest Tent of the League just south of the main building at the Minnesota State Fair, August 31 to September 5, 1908. Rest yourself, eat your lunch, meet other coöperators, and get literature and information. All will be welcome."

#### A Prosperous Bank.

THE Haverhill, Massachusetts, Coöperative Bank recently held its thirty-second annual meeting, at which its old officers were reelected. This bank was organized in 1877, and has over 1,200 members. The bank now has total assets of over \$460,000, and also a reserve fund which amounts to over \$6,500, and over \$425,000 has been earned in dividends for its depositors in the 31 years of its existence. The bank has loaned the money for the erection of 1,000 homes, its purpose being partly to promote regular systematic saving, especially by persons in moderate circumstances.

#### Co-operative Advertising.

A NEW line of coöperation has been started in Chicago by an organization known as the Cushman Company, which is planning to do coöperative advertising for the small drug stores, who must advertise to keep their goods before the public and yet who cannot afford to keep a special advertising man for that purpose. Each store is to receive individual advertising; that is, special particulars relating to the druggist himself, to his store, and to the neighborhood, the people to be reached, their peculiarities, etc., will be considered. In this way much local color, character, origin-

ality and individuality will be incorporated in each advertisement.

#### Co-operative Training in Industry.

THE Lewis Institute of Chicago has just put into operation a co-operative course in mechanical arts similar to the plan adopted by the University of Cincinnati which has proved so successful. The course is for two years, comprising fifty weeks of work and two weeks of vacation. During each year 24 weeks will be spent in the school and 26 in the shop. The students are to be arranged in two groups alternating week by week between the shop and the institute. The responsibility of the shop training rests with the employers of the boys and the responsibility for the instruction rests with the institute.

#### A New Grange Store.

REPRESENTATIVES of about a dozen subordinate granges of Kennebec county met late in November in Augusta, Maine, and voted unanimously to establish a co-operative store immediately. With a Grange membership of over one thousand within a radius of ten miles of Augusta nearly all of whom naturally go to that city for their supplies, there seems to be a

most valid ground for predicting as great success for this company as the Houlton Grange of Maine has already accomplished.

#### Massachusetts Grange.

THE Massachusetts State Grange in its annual session held in Worcester, early in December, voted to incorporate a co-operative store company with a capital of \$25,000 in shares of \$5 to be sold only to members of the Grange. Orders for stock were taken, and a certain amount of stock was sold at once.

#### Another Co-operative Theater.

A CO-OPERATIVE theater is to be erected in Lake Michigan Park at Muskegon, Michigan, one of the popular lake summer resorts. The land has been purchased and it is planned to have the theater in operation next summer. The thing is being done by fifty vaudeville actors drawn from all parts of the country.

#### A Parish Bank.

A CO-OPERATIVE bank has been organized by the members of St. Mary's Church, in Manchester, New Hampshire. The officers are elected from the shareholders.

HAZEL HAMMOND ALBERTSON.

### PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION NEWS.

BY ROBERT TYSON,  
Secretary of the Proportional Representation League.

(Continuation from last month of Mr. Humphrey's article.)

#### "AN ELASTIC LIST SYSTEM NECESSARILY COMPLEX.

"The description of the Swedish system given in the *Blue Book* (Miscellaneous No. 3, 1907, Cd. 3,501), refers only to the original proposals of the Swedish government, but it is a sufficient indication of the difficulties experienced in introducing greater elasticity into a list system whilst, in the little pamphlet 'The Finnish Reform Bill,' published at Helsingfors in 1906, it is stated that the Finnish electoral law has aimed at *not* checking the liberty of the voters in making up the lists. It therefore not only allows the names of candidates to figure on more than one list, but even

permits the voter to prepare a list of his own composed of any three of the candidates that have been duly nominated. In a word, whenever an attempt is made to introduce elasticity into the list system, whether by permitting combinations of lists, or by permitting names of candidates to appear in more than one list, or for the purpose of conferring upon the elector complete freedom in the exercise of his vote, then with each new facility so granted there arises a fresh complication in method, and the great virtue of the list system—its simplicity—disappears.

#### "THE SINGLE TRANSFERABLE VOTE.

"The Single Transferable Vote secures all

the advantages of freedom and of elasticity which the modern improvers of the list system seek to attain, and in other respects compares quite favorably with them. The Single Transferable Vote differs essentially from a list system in that a vote has but *one significance*—a vote is a vote for the candidate to whom it is given—and seats are allotted in accordance with the votes recorded for candidates.

#### "THE DISTRIBUTION OF SEATS.

"The question of remainders is more satisfactorily disposed of, for there is but one remainder—a section of electors less than the quota. In the list systems there may be two or three remainders which, between them, constitute more than a quota, and when constituencies are small, returning, say, five members only, this, as has been pointed out, is rather a serious drawback. With the single transferable vote in a constituency of the same size each successful candidate would have secured one-sixth of the votes plus one, and, in the return of five members, over five-sixths of the votes would have been utilized. Looking at the distribution of seats from the party point-of-view it may be said that each party obtains seats for every quota of votes polled and the odd seat, if any, represents the mean of the remaining votes. In the earlier list systems, certain fractions were given an enhanced value; in the d'Hondt rule, fractions are ignored; in the transferable vote, fractions are averaged.

"All such devices as 'combined lists,' etc., are rendered needless by the operation of transfers. The question of 'panachage' does not arise because each elector has but one vote and, to utilize that vote to the greatest advantage, he must indicate his true preferences. The further problems as to whether the party organization should arrange the order of candidates, whether the elector should have a limited vote confined to one list, whether he should be permitted to accumulate votes upon any candidate in any list, or whether as in Finland, lists should contain but three names in which the votes recorded are of descending values, all these problems disappear. Again, the majority in any party can always make sure of exercising its full share of influence; there is no necessity to arrange for an even distribution of votes over certain candidates as the simple device of making the vote transferable prevents the loss of voting power.

#### "DISTRIBUTION OF SURPLUS VOTES.

"But are there not, it will be asked, some special troubles or difficulties connected with the single transferable vote? There is but one—the distribution of surplus votes. There is considerable difference of opinion as to the degree of exactitude required in this distribution. The earlier advocates of the single transferable vote contented themselves with the proposal that 'surplus' votes should be taken from the top of the heap of the successful candidate whose surplus votes were being distributed.

#### "THE ELEMENT OF CHANCE.

"The criticism was at once made that an element of chance entered into this method of distribution. This point is ably dealt with on pages 45-47 of Lord Avebury's book on *Representation*. As there stated, the matter was referred to Professor Stokes, the eminent professor of mathematics, secretary of the Royal Society, and, it would appear, from his opinion, the element of chance would not (with constituencies of 25,000) affect an election more than about once in 10,000 years. But, in order to meet the critics, the modern advocates of the single transferable vote propose that all the votes of the successful candidate shall be re-sorted into heaps corresponding to the next preferences marked on the papers, and that to each next preference there shall be allotted its proportionate share of the surplus. This is the scheme which was embodied in the Tasmanian Electoral Act of 1896, and was adopted by the Proportional Representation Society in its illustrative election of December, 1906. The method is in every way practicable, and the Society's experiment confirms the more authoritative reports of the Tasmanian Returning Officer.

#### "BY-ELECTIONS.

"In the matter of by-elections, list systems have some advantage over the single transferable vote. With the list systems provision is made for the election of supplementary members belonging to the same list that shall take the place (in the order of their election) of any member that may die or retire during the lifetime of the parliament. It will, therefore, be seen that under a list system the party representation remains unchanged from one election to another. In a word, by-elections are abolished. In the Tasmanian Act by-elections

are retained, and whenever a vacancy occurs in the constituency the whole of the constituency is polled; the single transferable vote is used, the quota in the case of a single vacancy being one-half plus one. If by-elections are to be retained, this is the simplest solution. There are, however, some obvious objections. The party which is in a majority in the particular constituency in which the by-election takes place may obtain an additional seat at the expense of some other party. On the other hand, the election would often result in the election of some able citizen who was not an extreme partisan. Should, however, it be decided to abolish by-elections, any casual vacancy might be filled by the process of coöption (by the group in whose ranks the vacancy occurred), but although this practice was in force in School Boards, by-elections have always been a conspicuous feature of the English parliamentary system, and the Tasmanian system will perhaps be preferred. With the shortening of Parliaments, however, by-elections will lose a great deal of their importance.

"PRACTICABILITY. COUNTING THE VOTES.

"The relative practicability of schemes must, of course, be taken into account. I have been present at the Belgian elections; I have watched a small experiment in France; I have conducted illustrative elections in England; I have been present at the counting of English Parliamentary and municipal elections, and I have come to the conclusion that the varying schemes differ in the facility of counting in the following order:

"(1) The *single* transferable vote when the surplus votes are taken from the top of the successful candidate's heap;

"(2) The Belgian list system with its *single* vote;

"(3) The *single* transferable vote with the surplus votes distributed *proportionately* to the next preferences;

"(4) List systems in which more than one vote is recorded and, with these, the counting

necessarily increases in difficulty with the complexity of the scheme.

"The reasons for this conclusion are briefly these: whenever the ballot paper (as in the Belgian system and with the single transferable vote) represents but one vote only, the process of counting consists of *sorting papers according to the votes given*, and then *in counting the heaps of papers so formed*. When ever there is more than one vote recorded upon a ballot paper it becomes necessary to prepare an abstract upon recording sheets of all the votes given. This is the case in the London Borough Council elections, when the *scrutin de liste* in its simple form is used, but when, as in the list system proposed by the French Chamber, the elector may accumulate or distribute his votes as he pleases, selecting candidates from any or all the lists, it will be seen that the process of extracting votes must involve considerable labor. By comparison, the process of sorting and counting ballot papers is extremely simple. In the illustrative election (single transferable vote with proportionate transfer) described in Proportional Representation Pamphlet, No. 4, some 12,400 votes were dealt with in four hours, and I should say that with proper organization and arrangement it would be quite possible to count in a day some 80,000 votes, or even more. It is doubtful whether in the Transvaal the votes for some years to come will, in constituencies returning five members, exceed 15,000 or 20,000 votes, and I have no hesitation in saying that the single transferable vote will be found to be perfectly practicable should it be introduced into the new South African Constitution. The Belgian law makes provision for the employment of two 'professional calculators,' who are responsible for the accuracy of the arithmetical calculations, and if the proportionate form of the single transferable vote is adopted, it will be desirable that the returning officer should have two assistants whose special duty it should be to verify the accuracy of each stage of the process."

ROBERT TYSON.

Toronto, Canada.

# MAN IN THE LIGHT OF MODERN PSYCHOLOGY.\*

A BOOK-STUDY.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

## I.

HENRY FRANK is one of the deepest, clearest and most thoughtful liberal thinkers of our time. He is a man whose passion for humanity overmasters all baser motives. He has read widely and thought deeply, and his reading and thinking have all had one object in view—the uplift of man. The message of any one who has thus consecrated life to the service of civilization is worthy of careful consideration.

Our readers will call to mind that some time since we reviewed at length Mr. Frank's *The Kingdom of Love*. The present work is a no less thoughtful volume, though personally we do not so fully agree with the author's views in *The Mastery of Mind* as with those expressed in the earlier work. That is to say, our viewpoint is different. We hold to the idealistic rather than the materialistic theory. To us the concepts of the Great Galilean, of Plato, Kant and the host of prophets, poets, seers and philosophers who have apprehended the spiritual world to be the real world, are far nearer the truth than are the theories of our present-day materialistic philosophers. As to this fundamental difference in opinion we shall have more to say toward the close of this review. At present we wish to examine the contents of the volume and notice some of the fine thoughts and lessons that are here given in a lucid and popular manner.

## II.

The book is divided into three parts: "The Psychic Factors," "The Physical Instruments," and "The Moral Agents." In the first division the author considers the *Mind*, the *Heart* and the *Soul*. The second division is concerned with the *Brain*, the *Nerves* and the *Body*; while the concluding section is devoted to the *Parent*, the *Teacher* and the *Environment*.

On the threshold of his discussion the author shows how vague, futile and impractical has

been the psychology of the past. Even since the nineteenth century dawned, bringing with it the era of critical modern methods of research, progress in this department of scientific investigation has been slow and snail-like. Mr. Frank's views in regard to orthodox psychology and the present needs are well expressed in these words:

"We are still too much within the grip of ancient and traditional philosophy; we are still studying man as a marvelously and wonderfully made being, entranced by its mysterious formation, but paralyzed into ignorance by its overwhelming complexity. Thus we read in Sir William Hamilton's *Metaphysics*: 'Mind is to be understood as the subject of the various internal phenomena of which we are conscious, or that subject of which consciousness is the general phenomenon. Consciousness is in fact to the mind what extension is to body and matter. Though both are phenomena, yet both are essential qualities; for we can neither conceive mind without consciousness nor can we conceive body without extension' (Chapter VIII.).

"From this definition we are forced to conclude that there is a vast background of existence, an abyss, which does not fall within the realm of mind, because it is beyond the plane of consciousness. We are continually aware of things happening, the source of which seems beyond our grasp. We are, so far as our conscious mind is concerned, but an open door through which mysterious visitors and messengers approach us by the corridors of the feelings, perceptions, thoughts, etc., like ghostly presences that come and go, which we can neither conjure nor despatch. What is this deeper realm of which each individual is instinctively conscious, yet which he cannot instantly apprehend? Is it no part of mind, because it rises not into the objective plane of conscious activity? Is it some strange, sublunary sphere, which surrounds our conscious orb of being, and floats like a *fata Morgana* on the shores of self, ever but to amaze and confound us? Can we be satisfied with a Mental Science or a Psychology which omits the

\*"The Mastery of Mind in the Making of a Man." By Henry Frank. Cloth. Pp. 234. Price, \$1.00. New York: R. F. Feano & Company.

interpretation of so vast a section of one's organity, and presumes to study only what is apparent on the surface of the self, yet leaves to vague conjecture the deeper source of all?"

The discussion of "The Mind," though containing some views which we are not prepared to accept, is rich in suggestive truths and practical lessons so clearly and beautifully set forth as to be at once fascinating and mentally stimulating. The author shows how subtle influences are often destiny-shaping in their imperial sway over the mind of an individual:

"Sometimes a mere word, a chance acquaintance, a casual suggestion, weaves an unseen web of power around one's life that alters and defines its destiny. Had not Peter the Great, while yet an inconspicuous hereditary ruler met LeFort, the Swiss genius who inspired him with a thousand new ideas and passionate resolves, he had never been known to history as the immortal forerunner of Russia's reformation and the masterful builder of a gigantic empire. Some of the greatest achievements of art and literature owe their existence to this subtle law, of which so few are aware."

Of the power of thought, Mr. Frank has much to say that is highly suggestive. Thus, for example, he observes:

"The thought that the mind impresses on the nerve substance is never lost, but continues to vibrate even after the substance of the body is dissolved in dust. In this sense, thoughts are things, as sunbeams are substance and form. A thought never dies, as no motion ever absolutely expires. Somewhere its impetus is felt throughout the infinite, and some time will be discerned amid the vast forces of the world.

"Thoughts are not only things; they are also incarnate characters. They become organized into living beings which betimes control us. The novel-writer may create his characters, but, once created, they become his guide and inspiration. They speak from the pages to him and answer the problems that confront him. Like spiritual forms they make their entrances and exits to the solitary auditor who indites their deeds on the excited pages. They become to him as real, yea, more real, than the men and women he meets in the streets and shops."

The book is replete with personal experiences and citations from the lives of others that add materially to its interest for the general reader.

While the author leans to the materialistic concepts of Weissman, he is by no means a pessimist. Indeed, by temperament or natural bent he is an idealist, and we hold strongly to the opinion that the time will come when from the threshold of reason he will pass into the temple of intuitive reason; or, if we may borrow the old figure of the Jewish tabernacle and temple, he will pass from the Holy Place of reason to the Holiest of Holies, where the shekinah of spiritual light ever burns. And it is this idealism that continually illuminates the present work and gives to it special value.

In touching on the influence of the mind and of thought, Mr. Frank says:

"The body is the slave of the mind, if the mind so wills it. The cell-centers are still subject to the command of the will, if the will so determines. If physically we are not free agents, *logically we are*. For though apparently limited by the flesh, we are conscious of the capacity of the will to move and decide as we determine. If we are not in fact free agents, we nevertheless act as if we were. And practically that makes us the free agents that we feel ourselves to be.

"We do not originate thought, but thought awakens our thinking. The infinite is replete with multifarious ideas or mental impulses that have floated down the centuries since the primal fancies of primitive man were conjured by passing wind and boisterous elements. We are born into this sea of thoughts. As a fish thrives only in its native watery element, so the mind of man thrives only in a sea of mental phantasms. What we are and become is the result of what mental currents we meet in the vast ocean of being and the effect they have upon us.

"But because we are thus environed by an invisible ocean of mental forces, is not to conclude that these forces become the absolute moulders of our being and makers of our destiny. While we are surrounded and invaded, we must remember that within ourselves there is aggregated a vast number of individualized forces which constitute our personality. These are the opposing powers we may bring to play on sinister and obnoxious forces that would overmaster us.

"Thoughts are themselves creators of thought, as one sea-wave generates another in its path of agitation. But the primal mother of all thought is the emotion from whose

travail leaps some child of the throbbing brain."

Again he says:

"Our lives hang sometimes like a slender cord in the wind, easily moved whithersoever the first breath shall direct them. The heart is often like a flickering flame fed by some invisible substance. We cannot tell on what it feeds and grows, but from some mysterious source it gains its sustenance."

Very thoughtful are Mr. Frank's observations on "The Secret Springs of Desire," "The Dangers of Despondency," and "How the Moral Character is Made."

"Habit is the chisel that cuts the moral marble into the shapes its promptings pattern.

"When angry, hateful feelings are engendered in the young heart, its native love soon flees and evil thoughts obtrude to steal away its peace. Had Byron's mother been a sincere and noble-spirited woman he would have given to the world perhaps a character as delicately and exquisitely moulded as his symmetrical lines. But because his mother was selfish, narrow-minded, jealous and contemptuous, she expelled from his young heart the natural love that first awoke. Long indulged, the evil feeling grows till, like the Upas tree, it overshadows and blights with its poisonous breath all that it approaches. At first, by a single forceful energy of the mind, it can be banished; but once it is lodged in the seat of habit—the sub-conscious realm of activity—it waxes strong and defiant and can be overthrown only by the most strenuous effort.

"When once character is fixed, it persists along lines of least resistance. So long as no great crisis overtakes one, whose convulsions shatter the continuity of one's consciousness and split it in twain, the formation of character may be considered established when mature years are attained. But all the education of childhood and youth should be directed to the guidance and development of the nobler emotions that when they shall have become full grown they shall be the climax of a full and rounded life.

"By the law of accumulative energy, indeed, the cosmic forces build in the human consciousness the conserving forces of the social life. Society would still be chaotic and the individual remain a savage, were it not that by slow degrees, through the nameless centuries, the primitive impulses have been

sloughed off and substituted by those of refinement and physical prowess. Thus have sympathy, association, kinship and nationality been established. Thus has man risen from satyr to saint, from a Caliban to a Columbus. Thus has the primal impulse of revenge softened into the passion for forgiveness. Thus has savage tribalism merged into national patriotism; and thus is selfish patriotism slowly passing into world-unity and human brotherhood.

"In the meadows of the heart spring the flowers that promise the peace of humankind. 'One touch of nature makes the whole world kin.'"

Man is environed by influences that act and react on his brain and motor centers. He has within himself also warring impulses and desires. It is supremely important that he fixedly determine to draw to himself only those influences that make for the development of high character, for moral strength and self-mastery.

"If, at some period of life, circumstances drive to discord and disharmony, till all the chords of our being twang with distress, seek swiftly such occupation as shall invite harmony to the mind and rest to the nerves. Why dwell on thoughts that make one miserable, knowing how they precipitate disease in the body and disaster in life? By force of habit conjure such ideas as generate hopefulness and courage. Let occupation wait on appetite. Let what interests be the guide to what we do.

"Seek freedom. This comes by enabling the mind to expand its consciousness into the larger soul-influences that surround it. But in seeking freedom one must seek such freedom as shall make the life better and truer. . . . Whatever may have been one's mistakes in unfortunate mental association with evil powers it behooves us never to despair, but once more to arise and, buckling on the armor of the higher attributes, set forth, like another Sir Galahad, in search for the Holy Grail.

"What thou hast done, thou hast done; for the heavenly horses are swift;  
Think not their flight to o'ertake—they stand at the throne even now;  
Ere thou canst compass the thought, the immortals in just hands shall lift,  
Poise and weigh surely thy deed, and its weight shall be laid on thy brow;  
For what thou hast done, thou hast done."

In the chapter on nerves there is much that merits serious thought, and some positions are

taken that will doubtless challenge discussion; but space renders it impossible for us to do more than quote the following admirable words on the treatment of the insane:

"This fact shows how utterly nonsensical, yea, criminal, the former treatment of the insane was. Indeed the lesson must still be enforced, for there are many who think that the insane can only be controlled by physical restraint and force. Undoubtedly the reason they are not amenable to rational mental action is because their nerves are so heated or melted that any effort mentally to control them is physically impossible. This is also true of hysterical and all kind of excitable people. Let the nerves get cooled down. The fact that there is a certain sort of smell, very vague and subtle, that accompanies insane persons, which an expert, it is said, can detect, seems to indicate the fact that a peculiar sort of nerve-dissolution takes place in their bodies.

"Manifestly, then, the only scientific way to treat the insane is first to so affect them that their nerves will be calmed and cooled, and kept in such condition, till the power of the reason and the kindly affections can overmaster them."

The body is the subject of one of the most practical chapters.

"How much is the happiness, the peace, the misery, or the woe of life," says our author, "dependent on the crude instrument of the body! How little has man learned of its control! How still is it the master of his morals, his ambitions, and his prowess! How often has it dragged him to the gutter and besmeared him with the mire of infamy and vice, making of him who is 'a paragon of animals—in apprehension, a god'—the veriest libel on his Maker!

"Yet man is conscious in his self-responsibility, because he can by an effort of the mind separate his personality—his self-conscious integrity—from its immediate relationship with the form it inhabits. Man cannot physically remove himself from his house of clay; yet he can soar on mental wings so far above the miasmatic atmosphere in which too often it abides, that he can become conscious of theregnancy of his soul, and its absolute dominancy of the body.

"To have a good, healthy, happy, well-endowed body, and well under the control of common sense and judicious restraint, is, then, one of the first requisites of a successful career.

"One need not, however, be discouraged if

not rightfully dowered with physical strength and proportion. There have been disfigured men and women whose very natural misfortune has been the inspiration of their effort and achievement. Not the dwarf-like and repulsive figure of Pope could prevent him from pouring forth the wisdom of verse and prose, till the splendor of his mind's achievement so far overshadowed the disfigurement of his frame that one forgot to observe it while marveling at his genius.

"Elizabeth Barrett Browning was not endowed with health, beauty or a fund of physical force. All her years she lay upon her invalid bed, and, almost deserted by her body, caused her brilliant mind to display such starry glories in the firmament of literature that she conquered in spite of her exhausted body. Sometimes the very force of the mind itself is so effective that it prolongs a life of which Nature had prophesied but a short duration, with death already written in the cradle. Such was the secret of Samuel Johnson's long life of seventy years and more, although physicians and friends had anticipated sudden death at any moment."

Age and decrepitude, Mr. Frank holds, are largely due to want of order and method in life. A calm mind promotes a harmonious and healthy body. With most modern metaphysical students, the author lays great stress on like attracting like.

"Money makes money, riches are contagious, and so are happiness, health, hope and good cheer. Therefore the grumbler is always unwelcome though rich as Croesus while the wit, with his volatile *bon mots*, is always sought for and favored. But all these qualities are only acquired by the institution of established habits of the body which generate them."

But it is the habits that make lasting impressions on the body and brain which the serious-minded must ever keep in mind.

"Health, Happiness and Success are largely matters of habit. If we accustom the body to awaken each morning with the conscious possession of these qualities, and not with the predisposition to complaint and misgiving, we will have forged far ahead toward the earthly paradise we pursue. If we accustom ourselves to think of the body as decrepit, full of aches and pains, and on our lips is ever a groan of despair and in our hearts a pang of self-reproach, we shall reap what we sow and end our days in sackcloth and ashes.

“Guard well the days that hurry by,  
Nor backward look with heavy sigh;  
All wasted are the tears that fall,  
No ill-spent hour can they recall.

March onward with a fearless mind,  
And leave the shadows far behind.”

The third section of the work, in which the *Parent*, the *Teacher* and the *Environment* of the individual receive the author's attention, contains much that it would be well if every parent, instructor and publicist in America could read. Though tempted to quote at length from each of these chapters, owing to the extensive extracts which we have already given we find it impossible to follow our inclination.

There are several unfortunate typographical slips and some examples of looseness in the employment of figures and terms that are regrettable. Thus, on page 45, Cassio is used for Iago. On page 163 we have the word “imaginary” for “imaginative.” On page 45 the use of the figure of the Upas tree in the manner employed by the author is unfortunate, inasmuch as locomotion is not one of the attributes of trees.

### III.

This brings us to a consideration of the fundamental difference in view-point of the author and ourselves. Mr. Frank, we take it, inclines to the hypothesis of Haeckel, Weissman, and that school of materialistic evolutionary thinkers whose extreme philosophical views were voiced by Nietzsche and are reflected in no small degree by Ibsen and several of the great realistic dramatists and novelists of the nineteenth century; while the longer we have lived and the more deeply we have pondered on the great modern Sphinx—life and its meaning—the more profoundly have we become convinced that in the idealistic hypothesis lies the truth. Ever since the deeper things of life began to force themselves on our consciousness, we have striven to know the truth. Born into an orthodox home, we were early taught the doctrine of plenary inspiration—to regard the Bible as the exact verbal utterances of God, given to men—the pure gold of truth, without any human alloy. At that time the frightful dogma of eternal damnation for the doubters was a part of the generally accepted faith of those with whom we mingled.

Later, the palpable variations and inaccur-

acies in the statements of facts as given by the different biographers of Jesus in the New Testament, and various perplexing and contradictory utterances found in different parts of what we had been taught was the verbally-inspired Word of Divinity, awakened doubts in our mind. Still later, we came to study the other great world-religions and learned how in many instances the bibles of other peoples had slowly grown and acquired the odor of sanctity only after the flight of generations; while in other instances, as in the case of Confucius and Mohammed, the influence of environment and the limitations due to prejudice and the mental world in which they lived were clearly reflected in their writings.

Then came the revelations of modern physical science, showing the infinite character of the universe and the long period that man had inhabited our globe. A new Bible was brought to light, writ in the rocks and strata of earth and showing that the childhood legends, myths and dreams of earth's children were pitifully puerile compared with the broader and grander truths that were glimpsed through this new revelation.

Parallel with the opening up of these broader visions of creation and the development of life, came the inestimably valuable contribution to civilization made by the scholars known as Modernists or Higher Critics. The illuminating result of their work supplemented the loftier view which came with the broadening intellectual horizon of modern times.

These discoveries, so revolutionary in character, swept a large proportion of the scholarship of the present age, which dared fearlessly to follow the torch of reason, far away from the old moorings. Men who believed that reason was a God-given and precious gift, not to be wrapped in a napkin and buried in the sands of superstition and ignorance, were forced to modify their religious concepts and discard very much that earlier generations had unquestioningly accepted.

We were among this number to whom the old concepts no longer brought satisfaction, and the passing from the bondage of unreasoning faith brought with it an immense sense of freedom and light. The Sphinx still propounded her question, and materialism's answer no less than the reply of the children of a dogmatic faith based on the concepts of a childhood age, was unsatisfactory. Logically, materialism leads to the night of negation and pessimism. Physical science explained the method of life's

advance, but it did not explain any more satisfactorily than the myths of the ancients the origin of life; while the law, order and apparently clearly-defined purpose of creation found no rational hypothesis in a philosophy that did not recognize a Cosmic Mind, infinitely wise and all-comprehending—a great directing Intelligence whose work clearly spoke of a purposeful, irresistible forward push toward some great end. Reason lit the path and research did much to emancipate the mind from the bondage of fear and superstition. But they led only to the Holy Place, and he who rivets his eyes on materialistic phenomena and refuses to look behind or beyond, is doomed to disappointment in his quest for truth.

We remember, when a very little child, on first hearing that the world was round and that we were on the surface, we did not believe it, though we had not the courage at first to combat our teacher, whom we loved and revered. But what seemed palpably false to our immature mind, we soon learned was the simple fact.

Many years later we remember listening, when the head of the public high school in a Western town explained to an audience composed largely of farmers the then new invention of the telephone. He said: "With it you might be in A and your friend be in G, twelve miles distant, and yet you would hear his voice as clearly as if he were in the next room."

After the meeting was dismissed, an old farmer said to us: "Professor B—— may be a smart teacher, but if he thinks I am fool enough to believe his absurd story about that new invention, he's very much mistaken. It ain't according to reason or common-sense."

And this has been the attitude of the world in all stages of advance, when any new truth has burst upon the intellectual horizon. Only those things visible to the physical senses or

which conform to our very limited knowledge impress us as being sensible; and we well remember how we long stood on this ground, after we had been forced to discard the old childhood beliefs about creation and life. Then from Plato's concept as luminously illustrated in the story of the men in the cave, and from other idealistic philosophers, the great basic truths of the spiritual being, the real and the phenomenal being the changing appearance began to dawn on our consciousness, becoming more and more clear. It was as though we passed from the Holy Place of Reason to the Holiest of Holies, where the inner consciousness or the Intuitive Reason shines with revealing light, making the dark places plain. We do not mean that all things are clear, but it has given us a groundwork on which to stand that satisfies as did nothing the old dogmatic view or the materialistic concept afforded, in meeting the demands of reason and the spiritual aspirations.

In this new view, "evolution," to use the admirable expression of Dr. G. C. Mars, "is the gradual unfolding of a rational plan in time, or the becoming explicit of an implicit idea. Whether that idea lies potentially in the individual or in the environment, or in both—as it must, since action and reaction are always equal—the outcome is the *infolded* plan, or idea, *unfolded*. In other words, the evolution of the cosmos presents itself as a vast inner, purposive idealism coming to outer realization."

We cannot at present further dwell on this thought, but enough has been written to show how we differ from Mr. Frank in a fundamental way when viewing the problem of the modern Sphinx—"the meaning of man."

B. O. FLOWER.

*Boston, Massachusetts.*

## BOOKS OF THE DAY.

*As Others See Us.* By John Graham Brooks. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 365. Price, \$1.75 net. New York: The Macmillan Company.

EVERYTHING that comes from the pen of John Graham Brooks is richly worth the reading. He is one of the most fundamental and broad-visioned of the popular writers on social and economic problems of the day. His spirit is always fair and judicial, while his impulses are those of the humanitarian and the apostles of social righteousness, rather than those of the apologist for "things as they are" or as privilege wishes them to be.

In the present volume Mr. Brooks makes a study of the criticisms and conclusions by eminent Europeans who have visited the United States, from the early days to the present time, with a view to seeing how far such criticisms are justified by facts. In this way he is able not only to give us charming brief characterizations of the works of our leading critics—books which in many instances raised storms of indignation on this side of the Atlantic when they first appeared, but also to sift the false from the true and show us that in spite of the exaggerations and conclusions based on imperfect data, superficial observations and prejudice, there remains much that is true and suggestive in the criticisms even of our severest judges.

The author is always interesting, but in this work he has excelled in presenting his subject in a thoroughly fascinating or beguiling manner. The volume contains seventeen chapters, besides a comprehensive bibliography and a carefully-prepared index. Among the most interesting discussions are "Concerning Our Critics," "Who is the American?" "Our Talent for Bragging," "The Mother Country as Critic," "Change of Tone in Foreign Criticism," "Higher Criticism," "Our French Visitors," "Democracy and Manners," "Our Greatest Critic," "A Philosopher as Mediator," "A Socialist Critic," and "Signs of Progress."

Not the least interesting and valuable parts of the work for young students are the author's brief and thoroughly delightful characterizations of the critics and his descriptions of their mental attitude. Here is a typical example of

this feature in the following words on De Tocqueville:

"John Stuart Mill called De Tocqueville's *Democracy* 'the first philosophical book ever written on democracy as it manifests itself in modern society.' Until 1888 no book at all comparable to it had been written. It was said that every thinking man in Europe had to read it, in order to avoid the constant confession that he had not read it. Alexis de Tocqueville, though the son of a peer of France, took his stand as a youth of twenty-five for the French Revolution of 1830. At the close of his school studies, he made a long tour in Italy and Sicily, where he worked at politics and institutions with 'incredible pains,' to use his own words. On his return he was given, for a lad of twenty-one, an important position (*juge auditeur*). Political and social studies were from this time his pursuit. With no man can we less connect the word cranky or flighty. Only when he became convinced that Charles X. either could not or would not understand constitutional freedom, did he yield to the Revolution of 1830. His moral and intellectual struggles at this period determined his career. He had become convinced that the permanent defeat of democracy was impossible. How, then, could he better equip himself for service to his country than go at once to America? He had already discovered the most competent man in this country, the historian, Jared Sparks, to guide him in his first studies of the town-meeting. He reached New York in 1831, spending a year in travel and incessant study. He rose in France to be Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1849, receiving, for his moral courage, the honor of imprisonment at the hands of Louis Napoleon on the second of December, 1851.

"De Tocqueville did not merely think in principles, but he acted upon them in his political career. He possessed those high and rare distinctions in a politician, *convictions*, and human sympathy without cant. It is because these were thought out and lived out, that his *Democracy in America* has for us such priceless value. As we follow his pages, we see our troubles as through mists, but the mists are radiant and the light of a great hope shoots

through them. Critics have said that democracy, as a better form of government, was conceived of by de Tocqueville as a fatality; that it was bearing down upon us with forces so irresistible that argument and effort for or against it were alike futile. Few careful readers will draw this conclusion. Democracy is not to de Tocqueville necessarily a good. If it prove a good, it will be so only because citizens do their part in directing the forces that make for equality. Democracy will bear her fruit, sweet or sour, according to the soil of character in which it grows. In this conception, there is indeed 'destiny,' but it is the destiny of character. Democracy rises or falls as men put into it their best or their worst.

"As a qualification for really enlightening national criticism, I have laid great stress on a capacity for common human sympathy. At least imaginatively, de Tocqueville had this at a very early age, and it deepens in him as a result of his social studies. He conceived a kind of horror for the way in which the aristocratic classes had governed the masses. He came to believe that the gradual softening of manners was due largely to a growing social equality. He says, 'When the chroniclers of the Middle Ages, who all belonged to the aristocracy by birth or education, relate the tragical end of a noble, their grief flows apace; whereas they tell you at a breath, and without wincing, of massacres and torture inflicted on the common sort of people.'"

For Americans no chapter will present greater charm than that entitled "Our Greatest Critic." It is devoted to a consideration of the Hon. James Bryce and his *American Commonwealth*. But every chapter is replete with interest and bristling with suggestive and highly valuable facts. It is a volume that merits a place in every well-ordered library and should be found on the shelves of all public libraries.

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*The Tragedy of Man.* By Imre Madach. Translated by William N. Loew. Cloth. Price, \$1.00. New York: The Arcadia Press.

THIS most brilliant creation of Hungary's dramatic literature, *The Tragedy of Man*, by Imre Madach, who was born in 1821 at Also-Hregova, in Hungary, the scion of an ancient, noble Magyar family, has not before been presented to English-speaking people.

Not even of Aryan origin, its construction cannot be explained according to the principles of Aryan languages and its conciseness and strength cannot be transferred, so that to produce even approximately, the sense of an expression, it is frequently necessary to render one Hungarian word into five or six of any other European language.

The Magyar, the most perfect of all the Turanian languages, though the tongue of a small nation, has produced a great literature, an overwhelming amount of which is poetical writings. Its three God-born sons of Song, Petofi, Vorosmarty and Arany, are, comparatively speaking, unknown outside of Hungary.

*The Tragedy of Man* is a poem of the type of Goethe's "Faust" and Byron's "Cain"; and few books are better calculated to enlarge our continental narrowness and to teach us to respect the intellect and the genius of less progressive races. The poet has chosen as his theme the whole of mankind. His recurring hero is Adam, and his heroine Eve, the eternal types of humanity. We witness the whole process of man's development, up to the time when our earth may become frozen and uninhabitable and the human race be extinguished.

Lucifer, whose aim is to destroy the newly-created human race at the very outset, causes the pair to sink into a deep sleep, and evokes a succession of visions of the future of humanity, in which Adam beholds scene after scene of the future, himself taking an active part in each.

Then we come to the present age. Adam, who had wished for a state founded on liberty and order, finds himself in such a state; he has become a citizen of London. Yet disappointment awaits him. The world has indeed become wide, but of a dead level of mediocrity; love itself is bought and sold. The whole world is an immense market, in which the higher impulses find little use, and the soul of Adam is possessed with the idea that this stream of people, this crowd filling the streets of the great metropolis, is engaged in the one task of digging its own grave. Adam sees the vast grave, but while all the rest sink into its depths he sees Eve freed from all that is base, radiant in her purity, flying heavenward as the genius of Love.

The ninth scene which precedes the close is laid in the future, in a new socialistic world, where the whole world is one vast settlement; the individual has no power or initiative, for everything is determined by the common will.

The idea of Fatherland has long ceased to exist. Every man is a part of a huge machine, the Phalanster. It is doubtful, however, if this attack on Socialism will be regarded as a serious blow: it may even serve as a new factor of agitation and education.

Critics have commented on this work from two different points-of-view. Some say that the dreams were recognized by the poet himself not to be in accordance with historical truth, and are represented as deliberately chosen by Lucifer with the diabolical aim of driving Adam to despair and suicide, and so destroying in him the whole human race. Others consider that the great events and epochs of history appeared to Madach himself in the gloomy light in which he depicts them.

Contrary to these views and to the interpretation of the able translator, William N. Loew, the book is anything but pessimistic. It points out the everlasting hand of Love as the main factor of history, the interest of the three concluding chapters being chapters of inspiration pointing out to the people only the dangers which are to be avoided by heeding the word of the Lord with which it concludes, "I have told thee, man, to strive and trust."

The book has a certain flavor of reincarnation which is interesting as coming from a new source; it depicts the world as now in an age of transition; but the "period of transition" began in the year One and will end in the year None.

BOLTON HALL.

*More: A Study of Financial Conditions Now Prevalent.* By George Otis Draper. Cloth. Pp. 246. Price, \$1.00 net. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

LITTLE fault can be found with this book by those who look at business from the standpoint of the author. Mr. Draper is a man of large experience in many lines of industry. He knows business conditions, the cost of distribution, the perplexities of the labor problem, the influence of the tariff, and all the other factors of our industrial system as well as any one, and he writes very clearly concerning all these things.

Mr. Draper is not a Socialist, and the book is not intended to advance Socialism, but this will be its effect. He presents so many wrongs and difficulties, uncertainties and perplexities in the business life of to-day that the reader is forced to ask, Why continue a system that is guilty of all these things?

It costs \$1.88 to make a pair of shoes. The profit of the manufacturer is only 2 cents. The maker's wage is so low that he is discontented. The retailer is not getting rich, and yet the purchaser is paying \$3.00 for that pair of shoes. There is something wrong somewhere, but just where it is impossible to find out from *More*.

The author is a man so well disposed, so genial, so kindly and progressive, that it is with sincere regret we find ourselves unable to rank him as a fundamental thinker and author.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

"Benjamin Fay Mills and His Great Work for The Uplift of Humanity."

A FEATURE of special interest in this issue of THE ARENA is the illuminating sketch of the wonderful work being accomplished by the Rev. BENJAMIN FAY MILLS, his remarkable family, and the chosen band of workers who have gathered about this distinguished liberal leader. The article has been prepared for THE ARENA by GEORGE WHARTON JAMES, one of the most entertaining essayists among our popular present-day authors. Heretofore almost every effort to unite broad-minded and conscience-guided men and women who wish to enjoy a growth-favoring freedom has failed. Yet this work is certainly one of the most important labors for both the individual and society at a time

when the key-note of the epoch is union or co-operation; and the success of Mr. MILLS and his co-workers is therefore a signal victory for progress and human evolution, of far-reaching import.

"The Third Degree": A Modern Play Illustrating The Educational Value of The Drama."

THIS month we contribute our series of special dramatic studies which opened in the December ARENA with Mr. RYAN WALKER's discriminating characterization of "The Devil," by a study of Mr. CHARLES KLEIN's new and successful play, "The Third Degree." Next month we will publish a criticism by RYAN WALKER of "The World and His Wife" and "Salvation Nell," the two most important plays on the boards in New York city during the closing weeks of the past year.

## Mr. Vrooman's Railway Paper.

AMONG the various objections to public-ownership of railways made by the apologists for corporation interests and representatives of the feudalism of privileged wealth, is that public-ownership means confiscation. In this issue of *THE ARENA* Mr. VROOMAN, in the course of his series of masterly papers on the railways of Europe, which have been so strong a feature of the magazine during recent issues, considers this fallacious and sophistical cry in the light of the facts presented by governments which have taken over the railways. Mr. VROOMAN's masterly paper is the work of an expert investigator who has acquired his facts through exhaustive personal research and at great expense. They are thoroughly trustworthy and of immense value to all friends of progressive democracy and the people's interests.

## "Prostitution as a Social Problem."

*THE ARENA* aims to discuss from month to month various phases of the social and economic problems that vitally affect civilization. In the present issue we present an extremely thoughtful paper giving a secularist's view of prostitution. While many of our readers will not agree with the position taken by Mr. SCHROEDER, all broad-minded thinkers will be glad to see ably presented the opinions of a large and growing number of earnest men and women who are thinking seriously upon the fundamental evils of present-day society. On the divorce question Mr. SCHROEDER's views deserve special consideration. They impress us as being thoroughly sound, and at a time when there are so many hysterical appeals to religious prejudice and so determined an effort on the part of certain workers to secure legislation which, in our judgment, would certainly result in increasing immorality and bringing into the world a vast number of children of hate who would be a curse to the community, such thoughts as those presented by Mr. SCHROEDER deserve special consideration.

## "Is Modern Organized Christianity a Failure?"

IN THE November *ARENA* we published a remarkably brave and well-considered paper on "The Responsibility of the Churches," by Rev. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, pastor of the Church of the Messiah of New York city. It was a prophet's call to the sleeping churches. This month another scholarly clergyman addresses our readers in an equally remarkable contribution. Rev. P. GAVAN DUFFY is a brilliant New England clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and his notable paper entitled "Is Modern Organized Christianity a Fail-

ure?" will be found to be as profoundly thoughtful as it is deeply religious. In it present conditions are presented in a masterly, temperate and well-considered manner, and comparisons are instituted between present-day organized Christianity and the teachings, life and example of the *FOUNDER* of Christianity that cannot fail to arrest the attention and awaken the conscience of earnest and truly religious men and women. Dr. DUFFY clearly shows that organized Christianity has been largely recreant to her sacred trust. Happily there are at the present time many signs of a genuine religious awakening throughout the Christian world. A wonderful new spiritual unrest is becoming more and more evident. This is especially true throughout the Anglo-Saxon world, and it presages, we believe, one of the greatest, if not indeed the greatest moral awakening since the rise of Primitive Christianity. A great conflict is impending, and in this conflict we will find the old alignment. The reactionary, conventional religionists will unite as they did in Jesus' time, with the rich and the powerful against those who insist on carrying into life in a whole-souled and vital way the ethics of the Great Nazarene.

## "Italian Freedom and The Poets."

SPECIAL attention is called to Professor LEWIS WORTHINGTON SMITH's vivid picture of the age-long struggle for freedom in Italy and the influence which this heroic conflict has exerted on the sensitive minds of the poets. Less obvious but none the less real has been its influence on the heart of western civilization. Palestine, Greece and Italy have been the three great mothers of western progress, the founts from which the most virile and nourishing inspiration has been derived; and the conflict for freedom in Italy, from the days of the GRACCII to the magnificent warfare waged by MAZZINI in his appeal to the intellect and the heart, and by GARIBALDI as the leader of the troops consecrated to freedom, has inspirited the apostles of progress and humanity in every western land. Professor SMITH occupies the chair of English and literature in Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa.

## "Industrial Classes as Factors in Racial Development."

WE DOUBT if any English-speaking magazine in recent years has published a more profoundly thoughtful, informing or helpful paper on the extremely important subject of the relation of the industrial classes to racial development than is given in this number of *THE ARENA* by Mr. GEORGE R. STRERSON. It is a contribution that every thinker interested in economic progress should carefully peruse.

# “The Arena”

## For March

THE ARENA for March will contain a number of notable and attractive features, among which we mention the following:

I. DAVID WARFIELD: THE ACTOR AND THE MAN. By LAWRENCE HALL. (*Illustrated.*)

This is the fourth contribution in THE ARENA's notable series of critical dramatic papers which has already gained such popular favor. The author of this remarkable and fascinating contribution treats the dramatic career of Mr. Warfield from the days when he was so popular as a fun-maker in his impersonations of East-Side Hebrew life. He shows how he succeeded, and splendidly succeeded, in “The Auctioneer,” “The Music Master” and “A Grand Army Man.” A brief and lucid criticism of his work in the last two plays is given, with an estimate of Mr. Warfield as an actor and the distinctive characteristics of his art. The paper is magnificently illustrated, and the tens of thousands of thinking men and women who have smiled and shed tears when witnessing this artist's incomparable interpretations of “The Music Master” and “A Grand Army Man,” will wish to possess this sympathetic but intelligently critical study of Mr. Warfield and his art.

II. HARMONIZING OUR DUAL GOVERNMENT. By J. W. BENNETT, author of *Roosevelt and the Republic*.

This is one of the most statesmanlike, wise and sound political contributions that has appeared in many years dealing with a vital question. The author briefly reviews the historic conditions attending the writing and ratification of the Constitution. This is followed by a luminous discussion of the subject in relation to present conditions from the standpoint of fundamental democracy; while the suggested changes will impress thoughtful patriots as being at once wise, sane and eminently practical. It is one of those timely and constructive papers which the present critical hour imperatively demands, and should have the widest possible reading.

## “The Arena” for March

### III. THE LIFE RELIGION. By RUFUS W. WEEKS.

THE ARENA has seldom published a more important or popular series of papers than that which opened in the November issue by the powerful paper on “The Responsibility of the Churches,” by the Rev. John Haynes Holmes, and which was continued in the January number by Rev. Eliot White, A.M., in his paper on the Christian Socialist Fellowship, and in the present issue by the Rev. P. Gavan Duffy’s masterly contribution entitled “Is Modern Organized Christianity a Failure?” The March number of THE ARENA will contain a layman’s discussion of “The Life Religion.” The author is a prominent business man of New York and has long been an active worker in carrying forward the higher and nobler social ideals of Christianity—such ideals as were luminously presented by Frederic D. Maurice and Canon Charles Kingsley in the England of the last century. This paper forms a splendid companion article to “The Responsibility of the Churches” and “Is Modern Organized Christianity a Failure?”

### IV. BROWNING’S THEORY OF LOVE. By ELMER J. BAILEY, A.M., Ph.M.

This paper from the pen of a well-known member of the faculty of Cornell University, will be one of the most notable literary critical essays of the present year. It is a finely discriminating essay such as could come only from the pen of one who is a thorough master of his subject, who possesses a broad view of life and literature, and who is peculiarly gifted with critical discernment and the judicial spirit. In the first part of the paper the author discusses in a fascinating and informing manner the human love motive in Browning’s poems, citing a wealth of illustrative lines which make clear the master contention of the paper. Later he critically examines the poet’s philosophy in the light of sound ethics. Like Professor Henderson’s criticism of Bernard Shaw, which was a leading feature of our January number, this paper will broaden and deepen the culture of all readers. Mr. Bailey is the author of an important new work entitled *The Novels of George Meredith: A Study*.

### V. “WHY RACE-SUICIDE WITH ADVANCING CIVILIZATION?” A REPLY. By SOLOMON SCHINDLER.

The thought-stimulating paper in our December number by Rabbi Solomon Schindler called forth the interesting symposium which appears in this issue. In the March ARENA, Rabbi Schindler replies to his critics and discusses the question. Like everything written by the learned Rabbi, this contribution is highly thought-suggesting, even though the reader may not be prepared to accept his conclusions.

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We have recently had occasion to rectify many errors in our mailing-lists. Enough were found to make us feel that there may be more.

Won't you help us, if your magazine is not correctly addressed, or if you have failed to receive certain numbers, by sending us a postal-card stating that fact and giving (1) the present address and (2) the address as it should be? Address your complaint simply: "The Arena Magazine, Trenton, New Jersey."

## WHAT "THE ARENA" STANDS FOR

THE ARENA is an open forum for the dignified discussion of great political, social, economic, educational, religious and philosophical problems, when presented in a thoughtful manner, free from personalities.

In addition to this, it stands for certain definite and important practical movements that we believe under existing conditions are imperatively demanded in order to preserve and make effective the foundation principles of democratic republican government and that measure of civic righteousness and efficiency that is essential to safeguard the interests and foster the happiness and development of all the people.

We believe that if the Republic is to become and remain the true leader of civilization, moral idealism rather than materialistic aggression, the ideal of peace and righteousness rather than the theory of force and commercial aggrandizement, must be the key-note of national life.

We believe that no nation can hope for a great to-morrow that is faithless to its trust to the children of to-day; that without enveloping childhood with conditions that foster physical, mental and moral unfoldment, the recreant nation must decline; and thus where child-slavery in mine, factory, shop or mill is permitted the nation sells her birthright to give to greed-crazed privileged classes a mess of pottage.

We believe that war is a crime against civilization and inimical to the foundation principles of Christianity, and that the nation that does not throw its whole influence in favor of arbitration and all practical efforts to compel nations to settle their differences without appealing to the arbitrament of force, is false to the ethics of Jesus and the cause of civilization.

We believe in justice for all the people and that in the great co-operative movements that are sweeping many lands lies one of the splendid practical peaceful methods for securing to the people the fruits of their toil, without making them dependent on parasite classes that levy extortion on industry and take from the toiler that to which he is rightfully entitled.

In a word, THE ARENA stands for a *peaceful, progressive and practical program looking toward the realization and maintenance of a government such as was conceived by the author of the Declaration of Independence*; a government marked by equal rights for all and special privileges for none; a government in which equality of opportunities and of rights shall be the master-note of national life; a government "of the people, by the people and for the people," under the *egis* of the Golden Rule. And therefore it is especially hospitable to those great economic movements that favor the advancement of a juster day, the advent of nobler, freer manhood, and the outflowering of a nation whose crowning glory shall be her moral grandeur.

And, with DeTocqueville, holding that "The cure for the evils of democracy is more democracy," THE ARENA demands:

I. Direct-Legislation, through the Initiative and Referendum, supplemented by the Right of Recall.

II. Public-Ownership and operation of all public utilities or natural monopolies.

III. Proportional Representation, as a practical provision for giving all classes a proportional voice in government, relative to their strength.

IV. Voluntary Coöperation.

V. The abolition of child-slavery in factory, shop, mill and mine.

VI. Arbitration at home and abroad.

(a) Compulsory arbitration, to the end that the people shall not be made the victims of warring interests, and by which justice may obtain rather than cunning or force.

(b) An aggressive campaign for international arbitration and the reduction of armaments.

VII. Coincident with a persistent insistence on a practical progressive program along the lines of fundamental democracy and looking toward securing justice for all the people, a vigorous educational propaganda, with the master purpose of arousing the spiritual energies of the people, to the end that moral idealism shall supplant materialistic greed, and altruism blossom where egoism blights.

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The original edition of this work will give pleasure to those who love a book for its intrinsic beauty. The paper is a noble quality of "close-wire" laid "feather-weight" with deckle-edges, and was printed while wet—a process fatal to papers made from substitutes for cotton and linen fibers. The margins are liberally broad. The types—generous size—are the old-style Dutch face, cut originally by Caslon, of London, about 1725, after the Elzevir models. The lines are well opened, and the ink is a deep, full-bodied bluish-black. The size is roya octavo. The work is thoroughly indexed and contains 454 pages, besides four true photogravure plates. The price is \$3.50 net; by mail, \$3.68.

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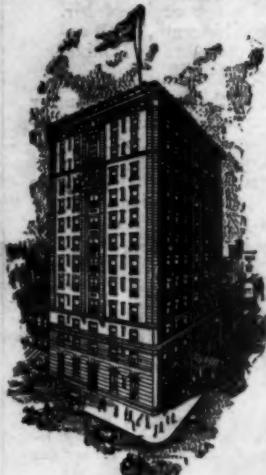
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